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# THE PARTITION

OF

# AFRICA

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BY

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

EDITOR OF 'THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK,' ETC.

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# PREFACE

FEW words of preface are necessary. The main purpose of this volume is to give a brief connected narrative of the remarkable events which, during the last eight years, have led to the partition of the bulk of Africa among certain of the Powers of Europe. The process of partition has been so bewilderingly rapid, there has been such a jostling crowd of episodes over some millions of square miles, that it is difficult to realise clearly the various stages that have led to the existing conditions. It is hoped that the present volume may enable those interested in Africa to form a fairly clear conception of a story unprecedented in the case of any other continent. In order to connect the main subject with the past history of the Continent, an attempt is made in the earlier chapters to trace the relations of what we may call the outside world with Africa from the Egyptian times downwards. The book does not profess to be either a history of African exploration or a treatise on the geography of the Continent. Incidentally these matters

may be referred to; but the main purpose is to deal with attempts at settlement, partition, and industrial development. One chapter does deal with the economical aspects of the geography of Africa. Those who desire to study the geography of the Continent in detail need have no difficulty in doing so; there are several easily accessible works. A list of the leading works consulted for the present volume will be found in the Appendix.

I must acknowledge the kindness of Sir John Kirk in reading the whole work, and making many important suggestions. Sir George Taubman Goldie (Royal Niger Company), Mr. George S. Mackenzie (Imperial British East Africa Company), and Mr. George Cawston and Mr. C. H. Weatherley (British South Africa Company), have been good enough to revise the chapters in which they are specially interested. Mr. E. G. Ravenstein has been good enough to draw up the Statistical Table in the Appendix. The Index has been made by Dr. James Murie.

The Maps, which have been done under the care of Mr. Stanford's cartographer, Mr. John Bolton, have been specially selected and compiled to illustrate the various stages and aspects dealt with in the work.

J. S. K.

*4th January* 1893.

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# THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

## CHAPTER I

### THE AFRICA OF THE ANCIENTS

Antiquity of African civilisation—America—Australia—The Egyptians—Phœnicians and Carthaginians—Ophir—Arabs on the East Coast—Carthaginians on the West Coast—Phœnician knowledge of Africa—Relations with the interior—The first Greek settlements—Hecatæus—Herodotus—The Nassamonean youths—Enterprise under the Ptolemies—Eratosthenes—Ptolemy's map—Roman enterprise—*The Periplus*—Ptolemy's knowledge of Africa—Nile exploration under Nero.

Antiquity of African civilisation.

WE have been witnesses of one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of the world. During the past eight years we have seen the bulk of the one barbarous continent parcelled out among the most civilised Powers of Europe. That continent is no recent discovery. It is not a new world like America or Australia. It enters into the oldest traditions and the most ancient history. While yet Europe was the home of wandering barbarians, long before Abraham left his father's fields or the Phœnicians had settled on the Syrian coast, one of the most wonderful civilisations on record had begun to work out its destiny on the banks of that Nile, the

mystery of whose source, so long sought for, has been solved, only within our own time. It does not enter into the scope of this work to discuss the origin or trace the history of Egypt; it is enough for us that the continent on which the oldest, or, at least, one of the oldest, civilisations was born and was developed through thousands of years is even now less known than a continent discovered 400 years ago, and has only during the past few years been taken seriously in hand by the peoples who have the making of the world's commerce and the world's history.

Let us, by way of contrast, glance briefly at what has happened with respect to America and Australia.

America. Just 400 years ago Columbus stumbled upon a new world with a land area of 16,000,000 square miles, about five times the size of Europe. With the exception of fringes of undeveloped civilisations, the secret of whose origin we have not yet fathomed, the American continent was given over to barbarians; it is doubtful if its total population exceeded 4,000,000; the population of North America was probably not much more than half a million. In the 400 years that have elapsed since this momentous discovery, the feeble indigenous civilisations have disappeared, the copper-coloured barbarians have been driven into recesses, exterminated, or reduced to what is little better than slavery; and over the face of the Continent have spread some 130,000,000 of people of European origin or descent. In the United States alone, covering about the same area as Europe, there are probably now 57,000,000 of white people, and in Canada another 4,000,000. All

the arts and industries and cultures of the highest civilisation flourish on the American continent as they do in Europe. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, are advancing with giant strides. The trade of the United States is about the same in value as that of Germany or that of France. In less than another century the New World may be running a neck-and-neck race with the Old along every line of progress.

Australia.

It is little more than a century since the first convict settlement was established in New South Wales. It is only about half a century since Australia may be said to have had a free hand. In size it is somewhat less than Canada or Europe. When it was discovered it is doubtful if the native population amounted to more than half a million, belonging to the lowest type of humanity. The country was absolutely virgin soil; the conditions were much less favourable than in America. In the brief period during which Europe has been in touch with Australia, the half million savages have given way to over 3,000,000 whites, mostly of British origin; and these 3,000,000 have so far developed the resources of the Continent that the total trade amounts to about £120,000,000 sterling annually. Such is the progress that has been made in two continents; one discovered only 400 years ago, the other practically untouched by Europe until about a century ago.

The Egyptians.

Let us now briefly trace the efforts made to appropriate the African continent by those whose interests and enterprise have extended beyond their own homes.

We do not venture to account for the origin of the Egyptians or of their civilisation. Whether the civilisation of Egypt was of purely indigenous growth, or whether its germs were introduced from the outside, does not concern our present purpose.

Were the Egyptians the first to begin the partition of Africa from the outside? That depends on what we mean by partition. Ages before the seed of Egyptian civilisation was sown, humanity had begun to pour in from Asia, and the north coast of Africa must have been peopled by a race which formed the basis of the Berber population of the present day. But these were wandering barbarians, just as were the pigmies, the Zulus, the Hottentots, farther south. The portion of Africa on which the Egyptians flourished for ages was even to a late period regarded as a part of Arabia. The Egyptians are not generally credited with being great navigators till the time of the Ptolemies, but there has recently been found on the monuments the record of a great national expedition sent down the Red Sea by a queen of the period, about the year 1200 B.C. Its destination was the country of Punt, about the situation of which there is even more doubt than there is about that of Ophir. Except along the coast-land of the Mediterranean, the knowledge of Africa westwards, possessed by the Egyptians, was until a comparatively recent period probably bounded by the Nile Valley. How far south their knowledge extended it is impossible precisely to say. Very early in their history, as early, probably, as 2000 B.C., they had dealings with

Ethiopia (the country generally lying south of Egypt proper, including Nubia, Northern Abyssinia, and possibly Kordofan), and so their knowledge of the river may have extended as far as the site of Khartum, though even that is doubtful. It may be said that an enterprising people like the Egyptians, who carried their arms far and wide, who must have had an extensive trade with the peoples dwelling along the Nile, and who in all probability were regularly supplied with slaves from the interior, must have had some knowledge, even if only based on rumour, of the sources of the great river on which their very existence depended. Possibly they may; but if so, that knowledge never found record; or if it did, the record has been lost. It is just as probable that they remained till the time of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks in complete ignorance of all that lay beyond the latitude of Ethiopia. Let us realise how vague were the notions of both the Greeks and the Romans of Central and Northern Europe, and of Asia beyond India and Persia. For untold ages the Old World knew nothing of the New. Only half a century ago the map of Central Africa was a blank from 10° north latitude to the confines of the Cape Colony. It is about thirty years since we obtained any certain knowledge of those great lakes which from an early period were rumoured to exist in the centre of the Continent. It is only fourteen years since the course of Africa's greatest river was traced out by Mr. Stanley.

If, then, 400 years after the discovery of a new Continent, with all the intense eagerness of the

modern world for increasing knowledge, with half a dozen great nations representing some 200,000,000 of the most advanced peoples of the earth keenly competing in the exploration of the world and in the acquisition of wealth and of power, we are still ignorant of great areas in Central Africa, need we be surprised that the Egyptians and other nations of antiquity, with wants insignificant compared with ours, with a total population, "all told," scarcely equal to that of one of our great states, with all Europe and all Asia before them where to choose, should leave the torrid, impenetrable, unproductive continent and its savages alone, taking from it only what could be conveniently reached from trading stations on the coast, or through the navigable channel of the Nile? Nor should it be forgotten that the camel is a comparatively modern introduction into Africa, and both the ox and the horse would be but poor substitutes for it in traversing the Sahara, the most formidable barrier to the penetration of Central Africa from the north. Moreover, it should be remembered that Egypt, especially in the height of her greatness, was, on the whole, more concerned with Asia than with Africa; indeed, as we have seen, up to a comparatively late period, Egypt, east of the Nile, was regarded as part of Arabia.

**Phœnicians and Carthaginians.**

The Phœnicians and Carthaginians did far more to extend the knowledge of Africa than did the Egyptians; and it may have been from them that Homer and Hesiod derived their knowledge of the Mediterranean coast. Thebes was about the limit of Homer's knowledge of Africa on the south, though he had heard of the Ethiopians and the pigmies, who thus

figure on the map of Africa from a very remote period ; they are, probably, the remnants of the aboriginal population. But it would be a mistake to attribute much reality to Homer's geography, though, perhaps, it fairly indicated the knowledge which in his time existed among his countrymen.

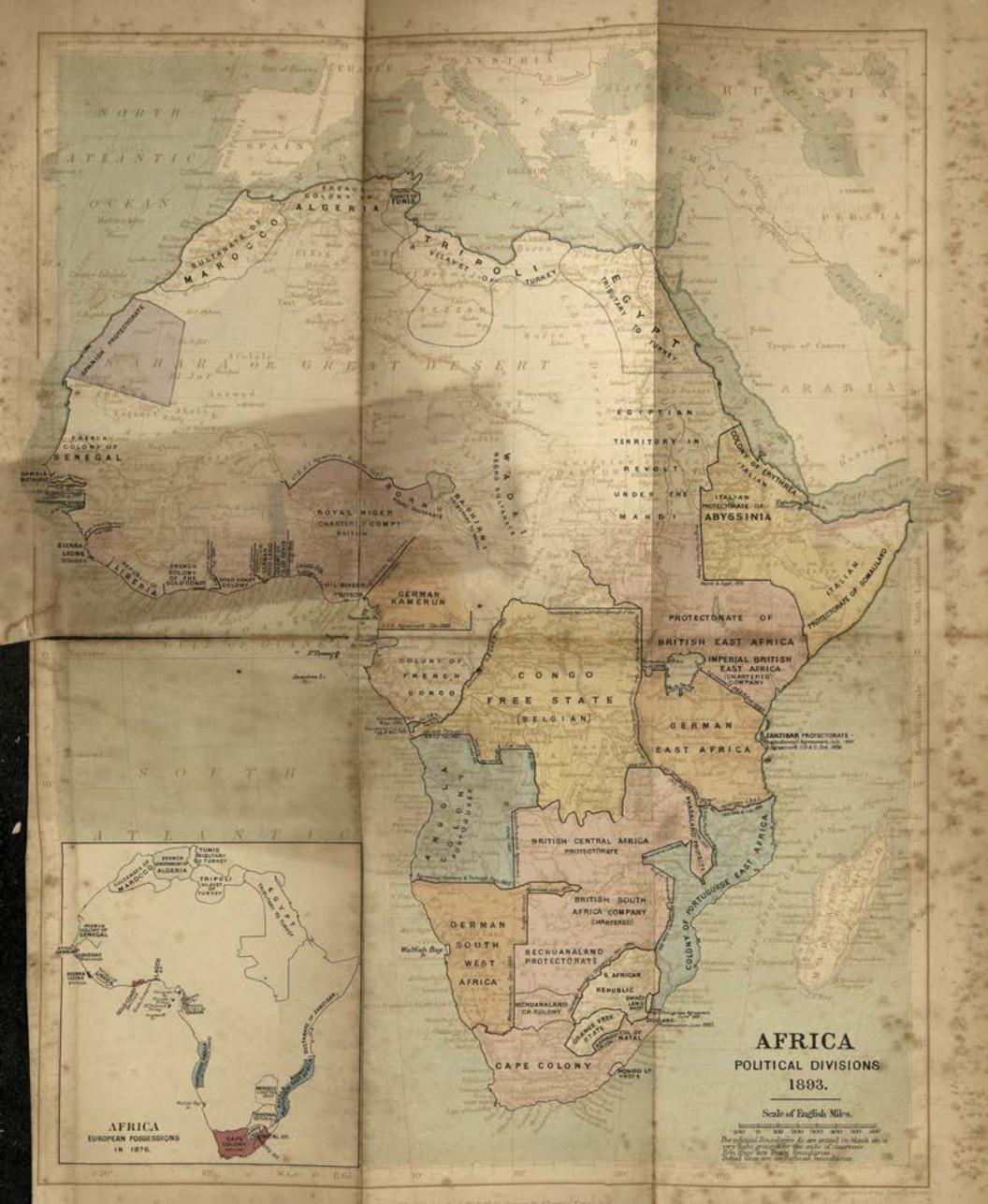
The Egyptians themselves, as has been stated, were not great navigators ; indeed, they seem not to have possessed a fleet of any importance till the time of the Ptolemies. Ptolemy Philadelphus maintained two powerful fleets in the Mediterranean and Red Sea. But long before this the Phœnicians had appeared in the Mediterranean, and soon achieved a position as traders, navigators, and colonisers unequalled by any people of ancient times except perhaps the Arabians. Doubtless their example stimulated the Egyptians to more enterprise as navigators, but for a long period we know the Phœnicians had almost a monopoly of the carrying trade of the Mediterranean world, and their sailors were in demand for the ships of other nations. About their connection with Africa there is no doubt. They were probably not the first of the Semitic family to settle in North Africa ; Hamites, at least, there were in plenty. The Egyptians themselves were possibly largely of this type, as was the population along the Mediterranean coast of Africa. Utica, perhaps the earliest Phœnician (Syrian) colony in Africa, was founded about 1100 B.C., even before Gades (Tarshish), on the coast of Spain, and 280 years before Carthage, a few miles distant on the same Tunisian coast. Before Carthage was founded, Utica had established stations for trading

factories along the Mediterranean coast of Africa, and down the Atlantic coast, where Lixus became a great centre. Syrian colonies were thickly planted as far as the mouth of the river now known as the Draa, to the south of Morocco, and thence, it is believed, there were caravan routes to the country of the Blacks. Their trading stations or factories were no doubt very similar to those which at a later period were planted by Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch along the coast of Central Africa, to which native traders brought the products of the interior in exchange for goods of European origin. Carthage, as it grew in power, also, like Utica, established its stations west and south along the African coast. Many of these settlements were more than mere trading stations. Cultivation of various kinds was carried on, and from the African coast of the Mediterranean corn was exported in large quantities.

We have pretty certain information as to the extent of knowledge which the Carthaginians had of the African west coast, but considerable doubt exists as to how far the Phœnicians were in the habit of voyaging down the east coast of the Continent. The story of the circumnavigation of the Continent by Phœnicians in the time of King Necho, about 610 B.C., has often been told. So far as the *data* go, that a Phœnician expedition starting from the Red Sea sailed down the east coast, round the south coast, and north by the west coast to the Pillars of Hercules and on to Egypt, there is no difficulty in crediting the story. At that period the ships of the Phœnicians must have been quite as capable of coasting along Africa as they were of navigating the

# CARTHAGINIAN SETTLEMENTS IN AFRICA.

M A R E
L I B Y C U M
Mauritania
Nomades Populi
Numidæ
Gætuli
Atlas Ms.
G A E T U L I A
A F R I C A D E S E R T A
Syrtis Minor
Syrtis Magna
Regio Syrtica
CYRENAICA
Gyzantes
Byzacium
Gindanes
Cydamus
Thymiaterium
Promontorium Veteris Carthag. Chersonesus
St. of Calpe
Pillars of Hercules
C. Spartel
Mogador
Rusaddir
Melilla
Tres Insulæ
Chalca ?
Saltus Tingitanus
Tingitana
Tingis
Tamuda
Mediterranea
Lepta minor
Tingitana
Tingitanus
Tingitanus
Tingitanus


AFRICA
POLITICAL DIVISIONS
1893.
Scale of English Miles.
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH ATLANTIC
SAHARA OR GREAT DESERT
ARABIA
PERSIA
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA
SPAIN
FRANCE
GREECE
TURKISH EMPIRE
FRENCH COLONY OF ALGERIA
PROTECTORATE OF TUNIS
SULTANATE OF MAROCCO
TRIPOLI
A VILAYET OF TURKEY
EGYPT
TRIBUTARY TO TURKEY
SPANISH PROTECTORATE
FRENCH COLONY OF SENEGAL
GAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE COLONY
REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
FRENCH COLONY OF THE GOLD COAST
GOLD COAST COLONY
LAGOS COL.
OIL RIVERS PROTECTOR
ROYAL NIGER CHARTERED COMPY BRITISH
BORNU
BAGHIRMI
WADAI
NEGRO SULTANATE
EGYPTIAN TERRITORY IN REVOLT UNDER THE MAHDI
COLONY OF ERYTHREA
ITALIAN
ITALIAN PROTECTORATE OF ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN PROTECTORATE OF SOMALILAND
GERMAN KAMERUN
PROTECTORATE OF BRITISH EAST AFRICA
IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA (CHARTERED) COMPANY
COLONY OF FRENCH CONGO
CONGO FREE STATE (BELGIAN)
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE
ANGOLA COLONY PORTUGUESE
BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE
NYASALAND PROTECT.
COLONY OF PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (CHARTERED)
GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA
Walfish Bay
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE
S. AFRICAN REPUBLIC
BECHUANALAND CR. COLONY
ORANGE FREE STATE
COL. OF NATAL
CAPE COLONY
RONDO LP. PROTE
AFRICA
EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS
IN 1876.
TUNIS TRIBUTARY TO TURKEY
FRENCH COLONY OF ALGERIA
SULTANATE OF MAROCCO
TRIPOLI VILAYET OF TURKEY
EGYPT TRIBUTARY TO TURKEY
FRENCH COLONY OF SENEGAL
GAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE COLONY
LIBERIA
GOLD COAST COLONY
LAGOS COL.
OIL RIVERS PROTECTOR
GERMAN KAMERUN
BORNU
BAGHIRMI
WADAI
NEGRO SULTANATE
SOMALILAND
ZANZIBAR
ANGOLA
BECHUANALAND CR. COLONY
ORANGE FREE STATE
COL. OF NATAL
CAPE COLONY
RONDO LP. PROTE

Atlantic, crossing the Bay of Biscay to the shores of Britain. They knew the west coast of the Continent for a considerable distance south, and they probably knew the east coast at least to beyond the Red Sea. The passage is well known in which it is stated that Solomon (about 1000 B.C.) equipped a fleet at Ezion Gebir on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, and how, with the help of Hiram, King of Tyre, it was sent to Ophir and brought back 420 talents of gold. In another passage it is related how the united fleets of Solomon and Hiram went every three years and brought back not only gold, but silver, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks, besides sandalwood and precious stones.

Where was Ophir? Volumes have been written on the subject, and it has been identified with at least a dozen localities of the present day. Able critics maintain that it was on the south-west coast of Arabia, and was really only an entrepôt or great distributing centre. Quite recently, since the opening up of the gold-producing country on the south of the Zambesi—Mashonaland and Manica—the view has been revived that there we must look for Ophir. We have only conjecture to guide us; it is a balance of probabilities. Wherever Ophir may have been situated, there can be little doubt that the traders of the period, Phœnicians, Arabs, Egyptians, had access to some rich, gold-producing country, for the quantity of the precious metal used, not simply for trinkets and vessels, but even for temple and house decoration, must have been enormous. There were gold-mines accessible from the Nile Valley; but no Old-World country known and accessible to these ancient

Ophir.

nations, not Arabia, not India, not Abyssinia, not any Mediterranean country, can be compared with the Zambesi region in its gold-productiveness. Let it be remembered that the Arabians themselves were great traders and navigators; that the Phœnicians were in constant communication with them; that they must have known the coast of Africa, which was quite within hail of their country; that there is every reason to believe they had settlements there from a remote period, and in all probability were familiar with the East African coast far to the south. Indeed, the Arabians seem to have jealously guarded the east coast of Africa, the Phœnicians acting as intermediaries between them and Egypt and the other countries on the Mediterranean. That some people, long before the Portuguese, worked the mines of Mashonaland is evidenced by the great ruins scattered over the country; whether they were Arabians, Persians, Indians, or Phœnicians, remains to be discovered; it is certain that these ruins are older than the Mohammedan period. But that the gold supplies obtained by the Phœnicians, through the Arabs in such lavish abundance, may have been brought from the rich mines of South Africa is not at all improbable. Directly or indirectly, then, it is probable the east coast of Africa was known to the Arabians as far south as about Mozambique. If the Phœnicians knew of this they kept their knowledge to themselves, or at least did not communicate it to the Greeks, from whom our knowledge of what the Phœnicians did and knew is derived. Unfortunately not a scrap of Phœnician or Carthaginian literature has come down to us.

Arabs on the East Coast.

We have much fuller and more precise knowledge of the extent of Phœnician, or rather Carthaginian, knowledge and enterprise on the west than on the east coast of Africa. According to one statement the Phœnician settlements on the west coast had been attacked some 500 years before Christ by the natives of the interior, and some of them destroyed. However this may have been, there is little doubt that about that date Hanno, a Carthaginian admiral, was sent out with a large fleet of vessels containing some 30,000 natives of the district round Carthage, some of them pure Carthaginians, most of them probably natives subject to the state, who had been to a certain extent civilised. Hanno settled contingents of these colonists at various places along the west coast, and succeeded with his fleet in getting as far south as about Sierra Leone; some critics would even take him to the Bight of Benin.

Carthaginians on the West Coast.

The Phœnicians may thus fairly be regarded as the first to begin the partition of Africa some 3000 years ago; though it is, as we have seen, possible that the Arabs had stations on the east coast at quite as remote a date. The Egyptians go back to so remote a period that they may almost be classed as indigenous, like the Abyssinians and other natives who spread in wave after wave over the Continent from Asia. The Phœnicians may also be considered as the earliest of explorers, though their explorations were always with a view to trade. Much of the knowledge of Africa possessed by the Greeks, who have transmitted it to us, was obtained from the Phœnicians and their colonists on the Medi-

Phœnician knowledge of Africa.

terranean coast. But after all, this partition of Africa did not amount to much. The doctrine of the *Hinterland* had not been invented at that early date. Though Carthage was a great and a powerful state it was a comparatively tiny one. Its greatness and the greatness of the motherland, Phœnicia, was to a very large extent dependent on their colonies, such as they were. With the disappearance of their colonies the mother country succumbed. Carthage, the most powerful of these Phœnician colonies, was really even more than England a nation of shopkeepers, though culture reached a high state of development.

**Relations with the interior.**

How far the trading relations of Carthage and her colonies or factories along the north and west coasts extended into the interior of Africa we have no means of knowing. That Carthaginian or other Phœnician traders themselves travelled into the interior across the Sahara for trading purposes is in the highest degree improbable. No attempt seems to have been made, as was the case with Egypt, and as is the case at the present day in Algeria, to push conquests into the interior. True, the attacks of the natives on the borders of the settlements had often to be repelled, and these border tribes may to some extent have been within the sphere of influence of the more powerful colonies, but that was all. The farthest south people known to the settlements on the Mediterranean were the Garamantes. It is probable enough that with these and other natives trading relations may have been established, and so from stage to stage a connection may have been formed with the Sudan region beyond the Sahara. Even in the

time of the Carthaginians the Sahara may not have been so much of a desert as it is at the present day; there is evidence that at one time it must have teemed with life. But the absence of the camel, almost indispensable for desert traffic, was a serious obstacle to anything like extensive trade; and there is little doubt that it was only after the Mohammedan conquest that the camel was introduced into North Africa. That there was considerable cultivation along the Mediterranean slopes we know, and manufactures also in the larger settlements; but the trade with the far interior of Africa must have been of the most limited character, while the knowledge which the Carthaginians possessed of this interior probably did not extend many miles beyond their own borders.

The first Greek settlements.

Before the date of the possible circumnavigation under Necho, over a century before the voyage of Admiral Hanno, we hear of the first establishment of a European power on the coast of Africa. There is evidence that long before this Greeks had found their way to Egypt, and to the Phœnician settlements, and that there was a busy intercourse between the two shores of the Mediterranean; but it was only in 631 B.C. that the Greeks planted a settlement of their own on the Continent. They chose one of the most delightful and fertile spots in all Africa—the district which bulges out into the Mediterranean on the east of the Great Syrtis, that part of Tripoli known as Barca. Here the city of Cyrene was founded and the district was known as Cyrenaica. In time other cities were founded, and a flourishing Greek

settlement grew up, which carried on agriculture and had trade relations with the Nassamones and Garamantes of the interior. Greeks flocked to this African settlement, many of them as colonists, some few of them out of curiosity as visitors. The intercourse between Greece and Africa became more and more constant, and before Herodotus arrived in Egypt, about the middle of the fifth century B.C., he had, doubtless, been preceded by others, though by no one so eager for information nor so skilled in recording it. But we do not in those early times hear of any enterprises corresponding to our modern exploring expeditions, the main object of which is the increase of knowledge. We find men like Herodotus, and others after him, going about the world of the period, but it was rather in the capacity of tourists than explorers. Herodotus was the Mr. Froude or the Sir Charles Dilke of his time. All this going to and fro for commerce, for conquest, for curiosity, could not however fail to add to the knowledge of the world possessed by the Greeks, who, so far as we are concerned, were the centre of the knowledge of the time. One of the earliest Greek geographical writers, if not the earliest, to make a map of the world was Hecatæus of Miletus, and in this map he embodied all the knowledge of Africa which existed among the Greeks at that period. We unfortunately cannot reproduce a copy of the actual map of Hecatæus, but the map introduced affords a very fair idea of the extent to which Africa was known to the Greeks about 500 B.C. Hecatæus had not heard of Hanno's voyage, nor evidently of the earlier one

Hecatæus.

under Necho, King of Egypt. He had a fair knowledge of the Mediterranean coast, of the Middle and Lower Nile, which was supposed to rise in the circumambient ocean, but of scarcely anything beyond. Europe occupies a space quite out of proportion to its size, while Africa is regarded as only a part of Asia.

Herodotus.

The map of Herodotus, which may be dated fifty years later, does not differ greatly from that of Hecatæus. We have a little more detail and a little more precision in parts. Unfortunately we have only fragments of the text of Hecatæus, while so far as Africa is concerned we have the work of Herodotus—traveller, geographer, historian—intact; and it is to him we are indebted for our knowledge of what the Greeks knew of the Continent in the fifth century B.C. He visited Egypt and Cyrene about 448 B.C., and there set himself diligently to collect information concerning the interior of Africa. He gives a very fair picture of the social and political condition of the peoples of the Nile Valley at the date of his visit. For the first time we hear of Meroe, the capital city of the Ethiopians. Herodotus knew of the desert that extends to the westward of Egypt, and of some of its oases, and of the mountains that divide that desert from the Mediterranean on the west. He gives us the names of various peoples that lived on the northern borders of the desert. He had heard of the voyage of Hanno down the west coast, and of the circumnavigation during Necho's reign. He heard, at fourth hand it is true, of certain youths from among the Nassamones to the south-west of Cyrenaica, who made a long journey into the interior across the

The Nassamonean youths.

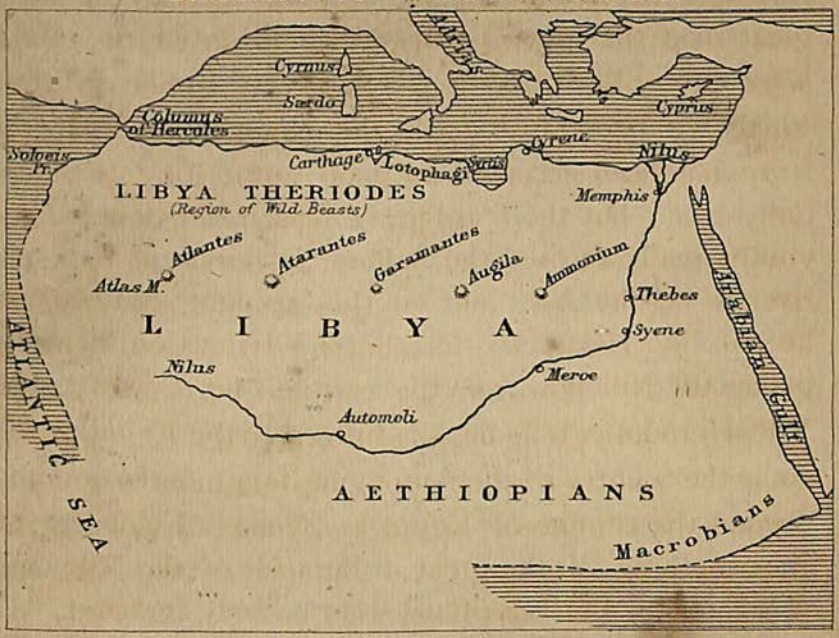
desert in a south-west direction, and were taken prisoners by a tribe of pigmies and carried off to a great river that flowed eastwards, and on which stood a large city. The conditions are so very similar to those which we know to exist in the Niger region that the story has been accepted by good authorities as essentially true; but there are grave reasons for doubt if the youths really crossed the Sahara. Herodotus took the river to be the Nile, and on this account, and because he too, like Hecatæus, foreshortened the Continent, he makes the Nile flow from the west and north-west. The Nile, Herodotus tells us, was known to the Egyptians as far as the country of the Automolæ, four months' journey beyond the confine of Egypt at Syene. Evidently he knew nothing of the great tributaries of the Nile, and of its sources the Egyptians were entirely ignorant.

Enterprise under the Ptolemies.

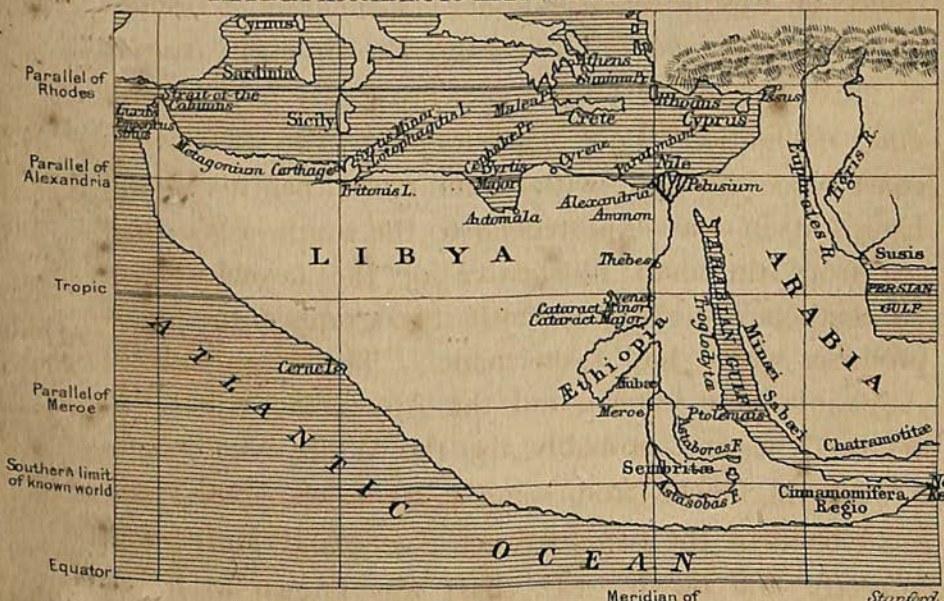
About 100 years after Herodotus came the Conquest of Egypt by Alexander: ultimately it became a Greek province. Under the Ptolemies it rose to a great height of power and prosperity; commerce and navigation were encouraged; the Red Sea coast was studded with commercial centres; and Egypt itself was explored far to the south. We shall see from the map illustrative of the knowledge of Eratosthenes, the first scientific geographer, the great progress which had been made. The Highlands of Abyssinia were known, and the Abyssinian tributaries of the Nile, and probably also the White Nile, which, it was said, flowed from some lakes in the south; the great bend of the river between Syene and Meroe was correctly laid down; the coast was known as far as

Eratosthenes.

## AFRICA ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS 450 B.C.




## AFRICA ACCORDING TO ERATOSTHENES 200 B.C.



Cape Guardafui; even something had been learned of Cerne and other Carthaginian settlements on the west coast. Thus the knowledge of the Nile region had grown considerably during the time of the Ptolemies, though it is evident that Eratosthenes knew little more than did Herodotus of the rest of Africa.

Ptolemy's Map.

But we need not trace in detail the extension of the map of Africa from one geographer to another. Ptolemy, the famous Alexandrian astronomer, who flourished about 140 years after Christ, may be regarded as summing up all the knowledge of the Continent that had accumulated since Egypt began her career, 4000 years at least before his time. About 170 years before Ptolemy's time (35 B.C.) Egypt had become a Roman province, Carthage having succumbed to the same all-conquering power over 100 years before that. The Greeks, and after them the Romans, were therefore the first European powers to obtain an extensive footing in Africa; but, after all, it was only along its northern borders. The whole of North Africa became a part of the Roman Empire, while the Phœnician and Carthaginian settlements on the west coast appear rapidly to have decayed or lapsed into barbarism. The Punic Wars and the travels of Polybius in the early part of the second century B.C. extended the knowledge of Africa to the south of the Mediterranean; Polybius, indeed, who had voyaged for 600 miles down the west coast, considerably extended the area of the Continent to the south, and had abandoned the circumambient ocean of Hecatæus. Before Ptolemy's time traders and navigators had pushed round Cape Guardafui, and we

Roman Enterprise.

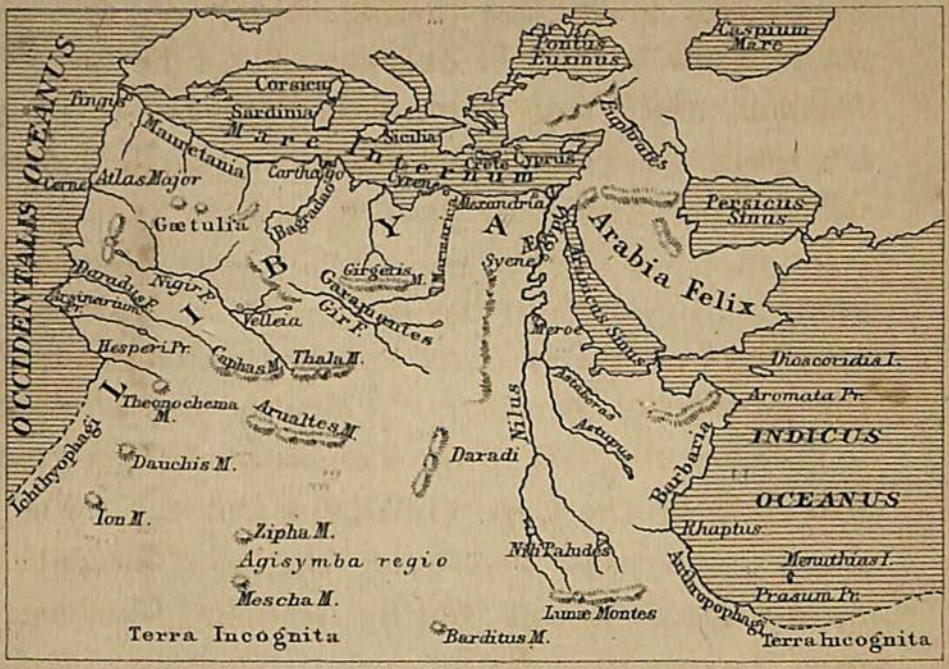
The Periplus.

know from the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* that there were many towns and trading centres at least as far south as the latitude of Zanzibar, if not farther. This *Periplus*, which dates some sixty years before Ptolemy, is a great storehouse of information as to the extent to which East Africa was known, and the nature of the trade that was carried on. It is a sort of navigation guide or directory to the coasts of the Red Sea, and of Africa from the Straits of Babelmandeb down to about the latitude of Zanzibar. Probably it was not very long before the date of the *Periplus* that the Egyptians had rounded the Cape Guardafui, and the towns they found on the coast were in all likelihood inhabited not by aboriginal Africans, but by Arab and Indian settlers from the opposite coast of Asia. But it is evident that early in the Christian era traders from Egypt, starting from Red Sea ports, sailed round by Cape Guardafui, and calling at many ports on the way, went far down the east coast, possibly as far as the mouth of the Zambesi.

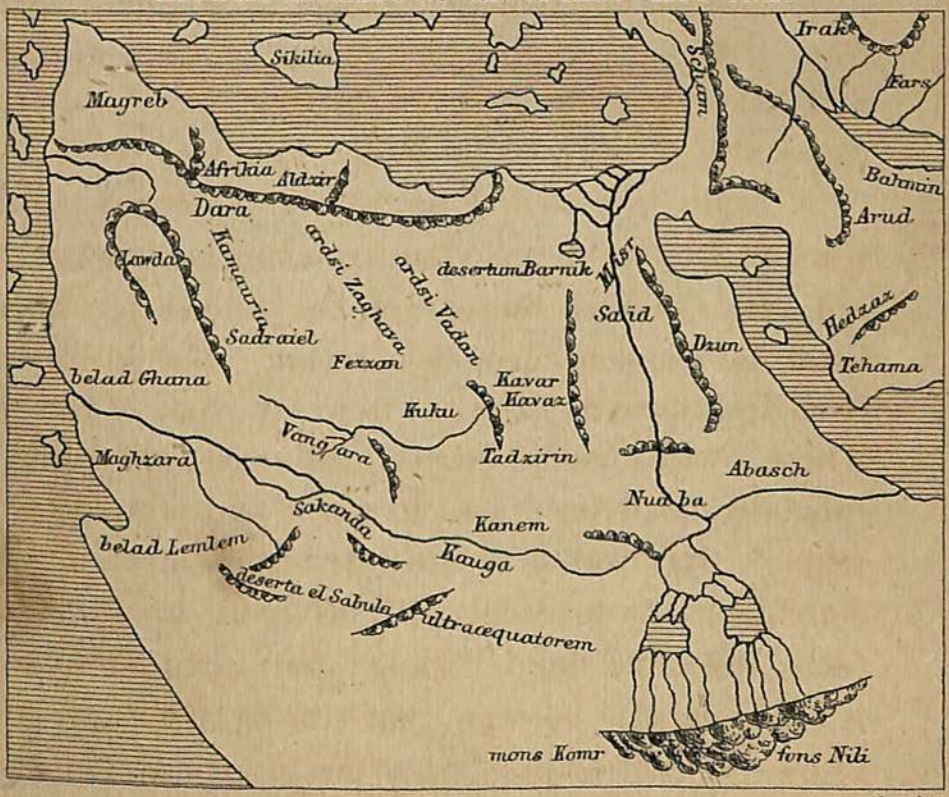
Ptolemy's knowledge of Africa.

Ptolemy himself was no traveller. He was, in truth, what is sometimes called an armchair geographer. He not only availed himself of the knowledge accumulated by previous geographers, but collected itineraries from traders and travellers from all parts of the world. These, unfortunately, he did not record verbatim. He tabulated their results, so to speak, and plotted them on maps. His distances are often very much out; his statements inconsistent with what we know to be the facts, and often unintelligible; but when all allowance is made, it will be seen that during the 600 or 700 years that had elapsed since the time of Herodotus, the

## AFRICA ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY 150 A.D.




## AFRICA ACCORDING TO AL IDRISI 1154 A.D.




Stanford.

knowledge of the world generally, and of Africa in particular, had advanced considerably; in the case of Africa, however, mainly along the coasts, and up the Nile.

Let us recall the fact that in the meantime Egyptian, Carthaginian, and Greek in Africa had all become subject to Roman sway. The world had grown, and civilisation had extended, and with it, no doubt, trade had expanded. Along the Mediterranean and Red Sea shores of Africa and down by the shores of the Indian Ocean traders and navigators were busy; but the old settlements down the west coast seem to have been abandoned. On the north we have no record of any expeditions across the Sahara. While there was constant fighting between native princes and Roman troops, and border warfare frequently enough, effective occupation, except at certain points, hardly extended beyond the coast region, and the lower slopes of the Atlas westwards.

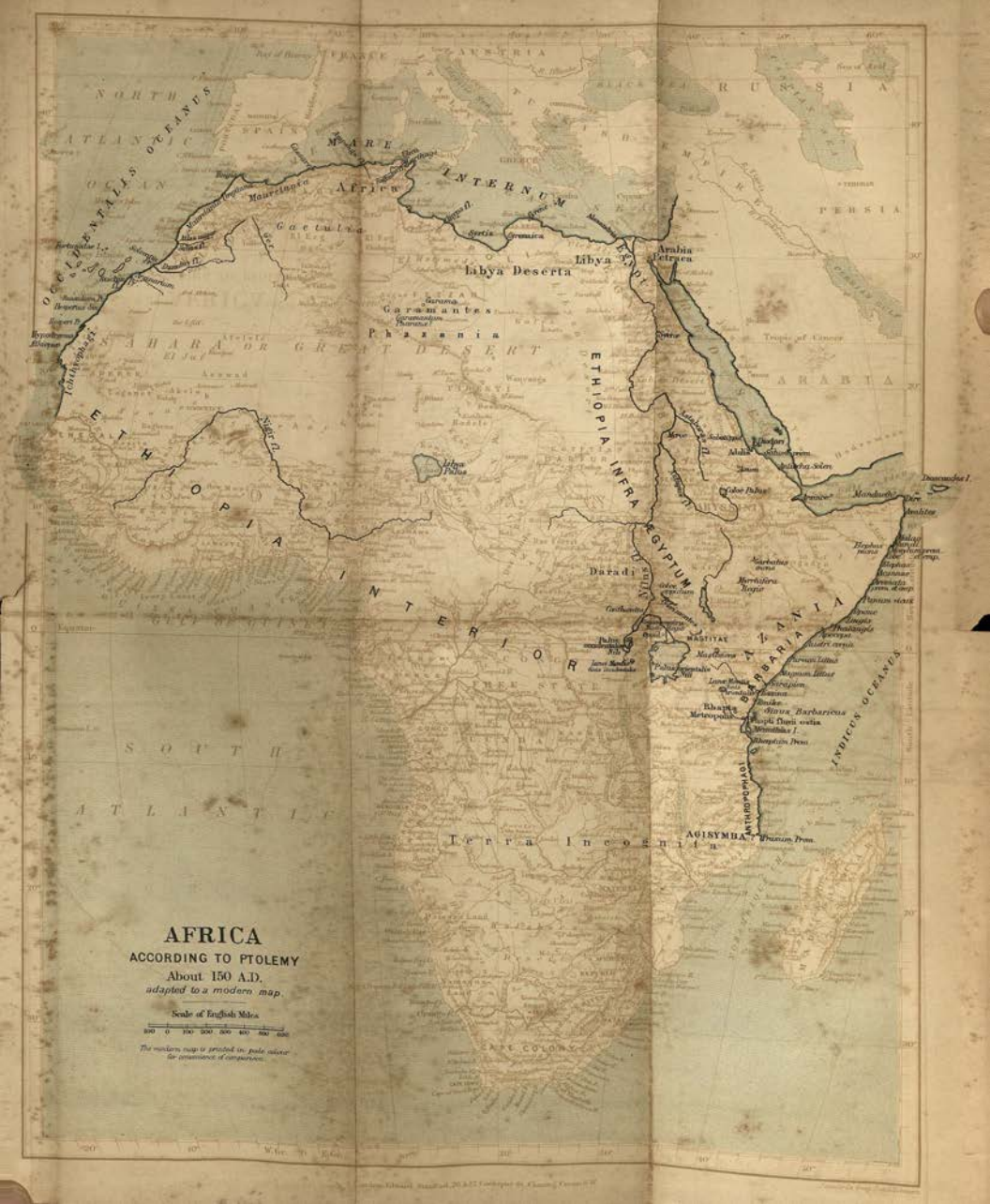
Nile exploration under Nero.

We do read of an expedition in the reign of Nero about 60 A.D., an expedition, too, which had for its object a search for the sources of the Nile, the first of a long series which may be said to have culminated in Mr. Stanley's exploration of the Semlike. The expedition was under the charge of a military officer, and was of small dimensions. From the description which these early explorers brought back of immense marshes, and of a river so choked up by vegetation as to be impassable, it has been thought by the best authorities that they may really have reached the region above the Sobat, on the White Nile, about 9° north latitude, where

Baker and other explorers of our own century have had to struggle with a similar obstruction. This, then, probably gives us the limit of exploration in the African interior from the north, and of precise knowledge of that interior until the time when the proselytising Moslems made their way across the Sahara.

Ptolemy, no doubt, in constructing his maps had at his command this as well as other information. He, it should be remembered, was a citizen of Alexandria, the city founded by Alexander 400 years before Ptolemy's time, and at that date one of the greatest seaports of the world. It was the centre of all African trade, the resort of skippers and travellers from all parts of the coast of North Africa, from whom and from all other available sources, evidently Ptolemy made a point of gathering information. Yet he does not seem to have known the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.* Egyptian traders had evidently found their way round the Horn of Africa in the early years of the first century. What, then, can we learn from the map of Ptolemy as to the knowledge of Africa possessed in the second century of our era by the Romans and those whose knowledge and possessions they had inherited?

Of the Mediterranean coast we may say they had a very complete knowledge, though their conception of its contour and extent was far from being accurate. Down the west coast trading stations still existed for some distance, though many of the old Phœnician and Carthaginian settlements had been abandoned, and no effective occupation had ever been made to the limit of Hanno's journey. The Red Sea coast was also well


AFRICA
ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY
About 150 A.D.
adapted to a modern map.
Scale of English Miles
100 0 100 200 300 400 500 600
The modern map is printed in pale colour for convenience of comparison.
MARE INTERNUM
OCCIDENTALIS OCEANUS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Africa
Gaetulia
Libya Deserta
Libya
Arabia Petraea
Garamantes
Phazania
SAHARA OR GREAT DESERT
ETHIOPIA INFRA EGYPTUM
ETHIOPIA INTERIOR
Daradi
BARBARIA
INDICUS OCEANUS
Terra Incognita
SOUTH ATLANTIC
PERSIA
ARABIA
RUSSIA
AGISYMBA

known, and a regular traffic had been established along the Somali coast east and south, probably as far as the mouth of the Zambesi. But outside the Red Sea very hazy notions existed as to the character and trend of the African coast, so that we cannot say that the knowledge of it was anything but vague. In the interior we may conclude that the Nile Valley was well known as far as Meroe in the time of Ptolemy, and even the Abyssinian branches of the river. Beyond Meroe information of a somewhat vague kind existed as to the river as far as the Bahr Ghazal, and perhaps a little beyond. That from this direction any knowledge of the sources of the Nile, of the great equatorial lakes, and the snowy peaks around them, had reached the Egyptians, and through them the Greeks and Romans, we have no shadow of evidence. It is improbable. Up to forty-five years ago no information as to these features had come down the Nile. But Ptolemy's maps, as they have reached us, do show the Nile issuing from two lakes, with feeders flowing from the Mountains of the Moon. What did this mean? Had Ptolemy really obtained certain information from some travelling traders as to these lakes and mountains? Had he only heard of the lakes and mountains of Abyssinia, and the feeders that issue therefrom? and did he or his successors project these down the Continent as knowledge of Africa extended? Volumes have been written on both sides, and men of the highest standing are found taking opposite views. There is this to be remembered, that a busy trade was carried on from a centre called Rhapta, on the coast of

the mainland somewhere near Zanzibar. That the traders at Rhapta and other centres had means of communication with the interior we cannot doubt. The Arabs, Persians, Indians, Egyptians, or whatever race the foreign traders belonged to, may not have penetrated Central Africa themselves, but trading caravans, manned by natives in all probability, came and went, and in this way knowledge of the central lakes may have filtered down to the coast.

It was thus that Burton and Speke heard of the great lakes of the interior before they set out on their memorable expedition. The Arab traders from Zanzibar and Mombasa saw these or heard of them, and so the knowledge reached the missionaries—Krapf and Rebmann and others,—and through them modern exploring enterprise was stimulated. But it is useless to dogmatise as to the knowledge of Ptolemy's time; at its best, even if it had a basis of actuality, it was so vague and inadequate as to be little better than ignorance. These Ptolemaic lakes, however, remained on the maps with the Mountains of the Moon, extended till they crossed the Continent, down even to our own times. Ptolemy's geography was the geography of Central Africa down to beyond the time of the Portuguese, with the few additions that the Moslem conquerors were able to make.

Abyssinia was but imperfectly known, though Axum was a great trade centre. In Lower Egypt the region between the Nile and the Red Sea was fairly well known, elsewhere probably little was known beyond certain trade routes: the routes, for example, from

Thebes to Berenice. There were other routes from Thebes up the Nile, and also direct across Nubia to Meroe; thence the merchants went on by Axum to Adulis (Massawa), and also to Assab. Of course between Thebes and Memphis and Alexandria there would be constant traffic. Another trade route went from Thebes round by the oases of Siwa and Aujila to the country of the Garamantes, the present Fezzan, and thence north to the coast of the Syrtes. Was there any direct connection in Ptolemy's time between North Africa, say Cyrene or Utica, and the countries to the south of the Sahara? This may very well be doubted; though that there was indirect trade from tribe to tribe from the Central Sudan may very probably have been the case. With so many ports along the Mediterranean, along the Red Sea, and even well down the east coast, there must have been considerable trade with the interior, but we have no means of ascertaining its precise nature and extent. Down, then, to Ptolemy's time such partition of Africa as had been effected by European powers scarcely extended beyond the coasts.

# CHAPTER II

## THE ISLAMIC INVASION

Africa after the division of the Empire—An early Teutonic settlement—The Islamic conquest—North Africa—The Sahara and Sudan—East Africa—Timbuktu—Arab commerce and geography—Islamism in North and East Africa—West Africa—Arab settlements on the East Coast—Central Sudan—Distribution of Islamism.

**Africa after the division of the Empire.**

FOR centuries after the Roman occupation of Africa and after the division of the empire there was almost constant fighting along the Mediterranean, until the time of the Moslem Invasion, so that much could not be done directly either for a knowledge of the Continent or for its development. After the decay of the Roman Empire distant commercial enterprise seems to have ceased, and we hear little of Central Africa. There was, however, during that period one episode which may be considered noteworthy. In 480 A.D. some 80,000 Vandals (men, women, and children) crossed from Spain to North Africa under Genseric, at the invitation of Bonifacius, Count of Africa, who soon would have been glad to get rid of them; but they had come to stay: after the manner of their race they were true colonisers. For more than 100 years this Teutonic people, the first of their race that ever settled on the Continent,

**An early Teutonic settlement.**

maintained themselves in North Africa, holding Carthage and other great cities, and sending expeditions to attack Rome. In the end (about 536 A.D.) they had to yield to the Eastern Empire, and disappeared from history: those that survived were no doubt absorbed into the general population of North Africa. Had they been able to maintain their position they might have served as a powerful bulwark against the advance of the Saracens. But the time was not yet ripe for men of our own blood to share in the partition of Africa.

The Islamic conquest.

From the point of view of the exploration and partition of Africa this migration of the Goths is mainly a matter of curious interest. The next really great event after the Roman Conquest bearing upon the partition of the Continent was the spread of the religion of Mohammed, bringing with it into Africa hordes of Arabian conquerors and traders, who in a comparatively short time took possession of the northern half of the Continent, founded states, and developed a commercial activity more extensive than even that of the Phœnicians. This Islamic occupation of Africa has not even yet ended, though now that the European Powers have taken the Continent in hand, its progress is likely to receive an effective check. The Arab Conquest may be said to have begun with the invasion of Egypt in 640 A.D. by Amru Ibn al Aasse, with 4000 men. This was followed by a large immigration from Arabia. By 664 Fezzan had been taken, Kairwan founded, and an advance made to the borders of the present Morocco. By 711 the whole of the North African coast lands had

North Africa.

fallen to the Arabs, and become to a large extent Moslemised. Europe was swept entirely out of the Continent. With these Arabs came new life and progress in agriculture, in commerce, and in arts. The Arabians were always great traders. Wave after wave of Arab immigrants continued to pour in, large cities were built, and the people generally raised above their condition under the decayed empire of Rome. By the end of the fourteenth century the religion of Mohammed had crossed the Sahara and taken a firm hold of the Sudan, where and in the Niger region it continued to spread down to our own times. Vast numbers of Arabs also migrated at an early period across the Red Sea to the Abyssinian coast and southwards to Somaliland, and when the Portuguese, in the fifteenth century, sailed up the east coast, they found rich Arab cities from Sofala north to Magdoshu. Meanwhile Kordofan, Darfur, Wadai, Kanem, Sokoto, and other powerful Sudan states took shape and developed a certain kind of civilisation, though it took time to bring them all under Moslem sway. Regular caravan routes were established across the desert from Timbuktu (founded or refounded 1213) to Morocco, Algeria, Fezzan, and Tripoli, with the aid of the newly-introduced camel, and there was developed that trade in ivory and slaves which is so intimately associated with the name of the Arab at the present day. This was the first serious partition of Africa on a large scale, but, as we have seen, among an Asiatic, not a European people. The obstacles which form so deadly a barrier to European exploration and European settlement scarcely affected a people who came

**The Sahara and Sudan.**

**East Africa.**

**Timbuktu.**

from a country the climate of which differed but little from that of Africa. Indeed, it is to be noted that hitherto all the peoples who had taken part in the partition of Africa—Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans—would find but little difference between the climate of North Africa and that of the lands of their origin.

Arab commerce and geography.

With the spread of the Arabs and the spread of Islam not only came commerce and a certain amount of civilisation, but knowledge of the geography of the Continent greatly increased. The governors of distant provinces had to make regular reports to headquarters; the annual journey to Mecca made the pilgrims familiar with the countries along their route. Learning, as we know, was nourished and promoted in North Africa, in Asia, in Spain. We meet with a long series of historical and geographical writers, and even with a succession of travellers, some of whom penetrated into the heart of Africa—from Masudi and Ibn Haukal in the tenth century down to Ibn Batuta in the fourteenth and Leo Africanus in the sixteenth. The information thus obtained from travelling pilgrims, conquerors, and traders found its way into the works of Arab geographers like Abulfeda, and was rudely embodied on Arab maps. The famous map of Edrisi, constructed at the court of Count Robert of Sicily in the twelfth century, was based on information derived from a vast number of sources. Kano, Kanem, Darfur in the Central Sudan were known, and Berbera, Zanzibar, Sofala in the east. Timbuktu was visited, and is mentioned for the first time by Ibn Batuta in the

middle of the fourteenth century; he described the Niger as far as Kuka. Still, at its best, the knowledge of the African interior thus accumulated was scanty.

Islamism in North and East Africa.

Islamism in North Africa was of the most aggressive character, and swept away almost all traces of previous religions and previous civilisations. Berbers, Romans, Greeks, Visigoths soon merged all their distinctions in Islamism. At the present day the religion of Islam is still of a fanatical character, intensely so in the Central Sudan, where there has been comparatively little contact with Europeans. On the east coast again, where it established itself independently, it has all along been of a milder type. In the north Islamism was established at the point of the sword; in the east it was introduced by the Arab and Indian traders. These did not exhibit any great proselytising zeal; and indeed, so far as we can learn, the Arab traders of East Africa did not, until a comparatively recent period, themselves move far from the coast, and, except perhaps in the south of the Zambesi, had no permanent settlements in the interior.

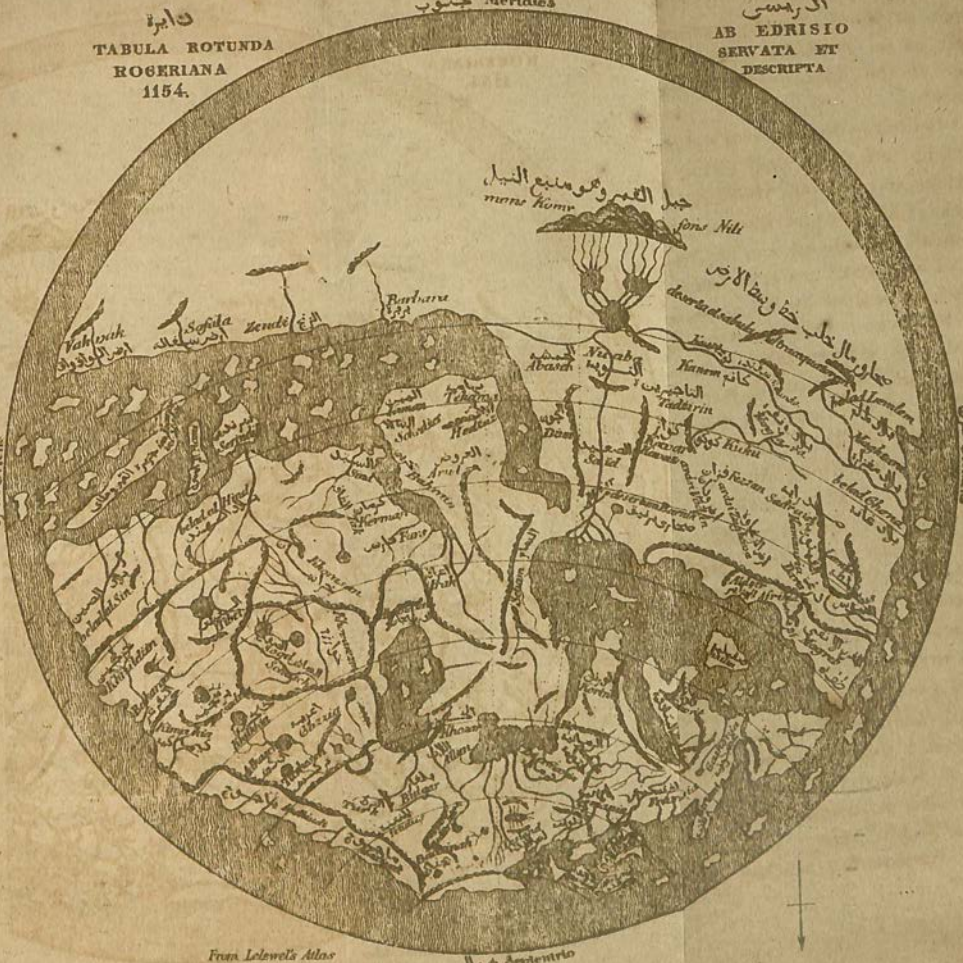
West Africa.

About the middle of the eleventh century there seems to have been a fresh migration of Nomad Arabs from Upper Egypt into West Africa. Between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries the religion of Mohammed made its way southwards, and found a home in Kanem, on the north of Lake Chad, and in the Sonrhai or Songhay Country, lying between that and the Middle Niger. Probably also about the same period Islamism first reached those Fulbe or Fellatah

دائرة
TABULA ROTUNDA
ROGERIANA
1154.

جنوب Meridies

ادريسى
AB EDRISIO
SERVATA ET
DESCRIPTA




From Lelewel's Atlas

who have played so conspicuous a part in the chequered history of the Western Sudan.

Arab settlements on the East Coast.

The first settlements of Islamic Asiatics on the east coast took place about the year 740 A.D., when political and religious dissensions broke up the unity of the faith. Among the states and towns founded in the first place by Arab and later on by Persian refugees on the east coast the more prominent were: (1) Magdoshu; (2) Kilwa or Quiloa; (3) Brava, Melinde, and Mombaz or Mombasa. Magdoshu was supreme in the north and Kilwa in the south. With the declining power of these two states and towns, Melinde and Mombasa, situated midway between them, appear to have increased in influence and importance. Magdoshu was founded between 909 and 951 A.D.; Kilwa between 960 and 1000. These Arabian cities and communities were prosperous, and in some degree civilised; but they were deficient in military organisation.[1] They had been founded by traders, emigrants, and exiles, who behaved peaceably to the natives. Each settlement seems to have been either an independent sultanate or republic, the inhabitants caring only for their trade with the natives, and making no great efforts to proselytise outside their own retainers. By the time the Portuguese reached the east coast it was studded with populous cities as far south as Sofala, and it is evident that there was regular intercourse with the gold-yielding region, south of the Zambesi. It was not until

[1] To the Persian element which arrived on the coast from Shiraz, fleeing from religious persecution about the tenth century, we owe most of the civilisation that existed, and of which evidence is still to be seen in buildings, the ruins of which are scattered on the coast at Kilwa and elsewhere.

the fifteenth century that Mohammedanism found its way into Somaliland and the region around Zeila and Harar.

Central Sudan.

It is probable that Nubia and Kordofan succumbed to the new religious invasion early in the fourteenth century. By the end of the seventeenth century the whole of the Central Sudan, and even much of the region to the west of the Niger, may be regarded as under the sway of Islam, largely by the efforts of the fanatical Fellatah. In the end of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries there was a fresh outburst of religious fanaticism on the part of the Fellatah, which spread over the Senegambian region, including Sokoto and neighbouring countries of the Niger, and carried the religion of Mohammed even down to the Gulf of Guinea.

Distribution of Islamism.

Generally speaking, it may be said that Islam has a firm hold over the whole of Africa north of 10° north latitude, and has a prevailing influence between that and 5°. Towards the east it comes even farther south, to the shores of Victoria Nyanza, and is met with on the east coast even to Cape Delgado. The Arab traders and slavers who have found their way into Central Africa from Zanzibar have carried Islam in a mild form as far as Lake Tanganyika and the Upper Congo; but south of 5° north it does not seem destined to take a permanent hold. Even in the countries watered by the Niger and its tributaries, where the fanatical and intelligent Fellatah are dominant, Mohammedanism has but a slender hold among the bulk of the people; they are to all intents and purposes pagans.

The distribution of Mohammedanism is of import-

ance, as it is a factor to be taken into account in the attempt to spread European influence. But it is anticipating events even thus briefly to trace the spread of the religion of Mohammed down to the present day. It was, however, something more than the spread of a religion; Islamism brought with it, almost without fail, political organisation, a certain amount of civilisation, commercial activity, and the establishment of slavery as an institution.

# CHAPTER III

## THE PORTUGUESE CIRCUMNAVIGATIONS

Venice, Genoa, Dieppe—Prince Henry's training—Europe in Prince Henry's time — Portugal's exploring energy — Prince Henry's enterprise—First African Company formed—First Portuguese establishments—Congo discovered—The Cape rounded—Result of discovery of America—Vasco da Gama sails up the East Coast—The "Kingdom of Congo"—St. Paul de Loanda founded—Conquest of East Coast.

**Venice, Genoa, Dieppe.**

THE sailors of Venice and Genoa, which, with other Italian cities, were for so long the dominant mercantile and maritime states of the world, especially from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, were more familiar with the eastern Mediterranean and its offshoots than with the Pillars of Hercules.

In the fourteenth century Dieppe was one of the most prosperous and enterprising seaports of Europe. Her sailing ships ventured everywhere, and volumes have been written to prove that as early as 1364 the merchants of Dieppe had formed a trading station, which they named Petit Dieppe, on a point of the Guinea Coast, half-way between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone. They are said to have had their *comptoirs*, or factories, extending from Cape Verde to the Gold Coast, and to have built a church at El Mina. 'French patriotism

naturally makes the most of the evidence on which the story of these enterprises is founded, and it is of so feeble a character as to demand some such support. If the occupation of the West African coast by Dieppe merchant adventurers ever took place, it must have been of very brief duration, and exercised no influence upon the permanent partition of the Continent. There is much more probability in the statement that Italian emigrants found their way down the west coast as far, at least, as Cape Bojador about the middle of the fourteenth century. The Rio d'Oro, Madeira, and the Canaries are found on maps of about that date. It is even stated on good authority that an Englishman, Robert O'Machin, eloped with a young lady and a vessel from Bristol and was drifted to the shores of Madeira. In the first decade of the fifteenth century the Norman, Jean de Bethencourt, began the conquest of the Canaries.

All this at least shows that before the Portuguese began those explorations, which ended in the discovery of the whole of the African coast, and crowned their nation with glory, the west coast was fairly well known as far as Cape Nun.

Prince Henry's training.

The beginning of the modern exploration and partition of Africa is with justice dated from the famous siege of Ceuta on the coast of Morocco, opposite Gibraltar, by the Portuguese in 1415. After six centuries of oppression the Moors had been driven from Portugal, though they lingered in the south of Spain. But the little kingdom had still to struggle for many years ere she was able to secure her independence from the dominion of Castile. When Prince Henry,

who earned for himself the title of "the Navigator," was born in 1394, the son of the able and brave King John I. and Philippa, daughter of the English John of Gaunt, Portugal, through many trials and struggles, had reached a position respected and feared by her enemies, Christian and Moslem. By the time Prince Henry had reached the age of manhood, and was eager to earn his "knightly spurs," King John was in a position to carry his enterprises beyond the shores of his own country and to strike a blow at the stronghold of the enemies of Christendom. At the storming and capture of Ceuta, Prince Henry and his two elder brothers bore themselves bravely. Whether it was this visit to the coast of Africa that inspired the prince with a burning desire to trace its outline we do not know; but three years thereafter he sent out the first of those expeditions which continued year after year to the time of his death, and earned for him his title of "Navigator." While in Africa he heard much from the Moors of the trade by caravan to Timbuktu and Guinea, and of the reported wealth of the interior of the Continent. A man of the prince's intelligence and enterprise had doubtless heard of the discoveries of the Arabs in Africa and elsewhere; and it is only reasonable to suppose that he had at least seen the Catalan map, and had read the geography of Edrisi. Nor is it an extravagant supposition that he had come to the conclusion that, by sailing round the coasts of Africa to such places as Sofala, Kilwa, and Zanzibar, familiar to Arab geographers, he would be able to make his way to India. There is no doubt that India had, long before the

rounding of the Cape, become the goal of the enterprising Portuguese navigators.

Much of the foreign trade of Europe was still in the hands of the Venetians, whose ships met the caravans which, passing through Mohammedan countries, brought to the shores of the Levant the treasures of the East. A sea-route to India would destroy this monopoly. When Portuguese enterprise in Africa began, Venice was at the height of her power and mercantile prosperity. The various ethnical groups which compose the population of Europe had settled down roughly within the areas they now occupy, and were being segregated into the states of modern Europe. The Moslem invasion, which threatened to swamp the infant civilisation of the West, had been pushed back, and now lingered only in the corners of the Continent. But the Turks had barely begun their European career, and it was only toward the end of the next century (the sixteenth) that they were driven back from Central Europe into the Balkan Peninsula. Henry V. reigned in England when Prince Henry the Navigator sent out his first expedition, and Henry VII. (the patron of Cabot) was on the throne when the Cape was first rounded. Columbus was born about twenty years before Prince Henry died, and Luther about twenty years after.

Europe in Prince Henry's time.

It would be interesting to inquire into the causes which led to the remarkable display of exploring and conquering energy manifested by Portugal for the 160 years between 1420 and 1580, when dynastically she became united to Spain; but such an inquiry would be foreign to the purpose of this volume. It

Portugal's exploring energy.

should be remembered that in the population of the Iberian peninsula there was a large infusion of Teutonic blood, of that blood which, under different climatic conditions, has led to such different results. In whatever way it is to be explained, the fact remains that after a century and a half of energetic enterprise, during which all Africa, and it may be said all India, was within her power, Portugal suddenly collapsed, and never again recovered the place she had won before her sixty years' incorporation with Spain. But this opens up wide and fundamental questions which cannot be entered upon here. Portugal has a right to be proud of the part she played as a pioneer among the European nations in the exploration of Africa. Under Prince Henry and his successors, within the space of some seventy years, single-handed she traced the contour of the west, south, and east coasts of Africa, initiated the modern European colonisation of the Continent, and began that partition which is only now being concluded. The record of this with the record of her conquests and explorations in Asia and in America must render the name of Portugal for ever memorable in the history of the world.

Prince Henry's enterprise.

Ceuta itself may be said to have been the first annexation in Africa by a modern European power. Into a detailed history of the Portuguese exploration of Africa it is not of course possible to enter; a brief sketch of the successive stages must suffice. In order to be as near as possible to the contemplated scene of operations, Prince Henry established himself upon the lonely point of Sagres (Cape St. Vincent), which may be said to

overhang the west coast of Africa. Three years after the siege of Ceuta, Prince Henry began his great enterprise, his first goal being Cape Bojador, then regarded as a veritable Cape of Storms. It was not, however, till 1434 that Gil Eannes succeeded in rounding it. After that point had been passed, the outline of the West African coast was followed down by expedition after expedition. But it was not till 1443 that the next prominent Cape—Blanco—was doubled, and the Rio d'Oro reached by Antonio Gonsalvez, who brought home with him some gold dust and ten slaves, probably the first gold and the first slaves taken from the western shores of Africa by modern Europeans. The slaves were presented by Prince Henry to Pope Martin V., who thereupon conferred upon Portugal the right of possession and sovereignty of all the country that might be discovered between Cape Bojador and the Indies. This was the beginning of that traffic in black humanity which was carried on almost uninterruptedly for four centuries. Portugal was the first European power to begin the traffic and the last to leave it off. The river Senegal was reached, and Cape Verd doubled in 1446 by Dinis Fernandez, and two years later the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone was made. The voyages of Cadamosto in 1455 and 1456 to the Cape Verd Islands, the Senegal, and the Gambia, were remarkable for the information which he obtained concerning Timbuktu and the countries in the interior; concerning the trade in gold and ivory with the coast, and the caravan trade of the Mediterranean. But we have no evidence that the Portuguese themselves ever penetrated so far as Tim-

buktu, except the bare statement of De Barros, who gives no details. It was not till 1462 that Pedro da Cintra succeeded in getting three degrees beyond Sierra Leone. Prince Henry had died two years before, but his great undertaking was continued by Alfonso V. and John II. During Henry's lifetime 1800 miles of the West African coast had been followed out from Cape Nun southwards during half a century of effort.

First African Company formed.

Before the Prince's death a company had been formed for the purpose of carrying on a trade in slaves and gold dust between Portugal and Africa, the first of those companies which have formed so prominent a feature in the European connection with the Continent. The first expedition despatched by the Company returned with a cargo of 200 slaves. In 1471 the Guinea Coast was doubled and followed round by the Bight of Benin as far as the delta of the river Ogové. At the Ogové the Portuguese were content to rest for thirteen years, having been the first Europeans to cross the line.

First Portuguese establishments.

So early as 1448 Prince Henry had begun a fort on the Bay of Arguin, south of Cape Blanco, from which an attempt was made to carry on intercourse with the interior, and by which the traders, who had stations on the islands in the bay, might be protected. This fort seems to have been rebuilt in 1461, and for many years afterwards continued to be the headquarters of Portuguese commercial enterprise in West Africa. This was in the reign of John II., on whom the Pope conferred the title of "Lord of Guinea," a title attached to the crown of Portugal even to our own time. But

probably the first regular settlement or colony established on the continent of Africa was on the Gold Coast, at a spot to which the name of El Mina was given, and where the Portuguese flag was raised in January 1482. Here a fort was built, one of the strongest on the coast; it may be seen at the present day. But long before this, traffic in the gold from which the Gold Coast gets its name had begun, and attempts had been made to establish relations with the interior. Thus may be said to have commenced the Portuguese annexation of Africa, though of course all the coast discovered by the navigators of Portugal was regarded as the perquisite of their sovereign.

Congo discovered.

In 1484 exploration was again started with renewed vigour. In that and the following year Diego Cam pushed his way for 1200 miles south of the Ogové, discovering the mouth of the Congo, up which he sailed for some distance. On board Diego Cam's ship was the great German geographer, Martin Behaim, whose map of Africa in 1492 shows the results of exploration up to that date. The year after Diego's return Bartholomew Diaz set out, and all unknowing passed the south-west point of Africa and pushed eastwards as far as Algoa Bay; it was only on his return journey that he sighted what he called the Cape of Storms, but which King John rechristened the Cape of Good Hope.

The Cape rounded.

Thus the turning-point in the history of Africa was reached, for Diaz had come to almost within hail of the Arab settlements on the east coast. The true contour of the Continent had been gradually filled in, and even Martin Behaim's Africa was a great advance on any-

thing that had gone before. The most famous of all these Portuguese navigators, the first to reach India by the Cape route, Vasco da Gama, completed the work of his predecessors, not, however, until ten years after the return of Diaz. Meantime Pero de Covilham had gone to India by the Red Sea route. On his return he visited Sofala and other Arab settlements, heard of the gold mines in the interior, and even visited Abyssinia in search of the mysterious Christian potentate, Prester John. When Vasco da Gama set out on his famous voyage in 1497 he knew, from the information sent him by Covilham, that Sofala would be reached by doubling the Cape, and that thence it was plain sailing to India.

Result of discovery of America.

That same year, 1497, marked the discovery of Newfoundland by Sebastian Cabot, five years after Columbus had lighted upon the New World. This great discovery, we may be sure, had a marked effect in retarding the exploration, partition, and development of the African continent; the energy which was diverted across the Atlantic, and which was devoted with such marvellous success to the peopling of America by Europeans and the development of its resources, would, no doubt, to a large extent, have been devoted to the much less hopeful continent, whose contour was being revealed to the world by the Portuguese. At the same time the discovery of the New World enhanced the value of Africa in one respect. The rapid destruction of the feeble natives of the West Indies rendered imported labour indispensable for the development of the islands. An ample supply was found among the hardy and unfortunate children of Ham, the trade in whom

# MARTIN BEHAIM'S GLOBE 1492.

soon exceeded in value all the other exports from the Dark Continent. It was only when America was all but parcelled out and filled up that European powers, in search of foreign possessions, seriously turned their attention to Africa.

Vasco da Gama sails up East Coast.

On the 22nd November 1497 Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope. A month later he touched at and named Natal. He proceeded leisurely along the coast, calling at Sofala, Mozambique, Melinde, Mombasa, and other places, all which he found in possession of the Arabs, prosperous and flourishing, as well they might be, for they had been there for centuries before the birth of Islam. But India was the destination of Gama, and the conquest and settlement of Africa were left to others.

The "Kingdom of Congo."

As we have seen, occupation had already begun on the west coast and was continued there. Diego Cam took back with him to Lisbon in 1485 some natives from the Congo, and returned with an army of priests. In a remarkably short time the king and natives of the "Kingdom of Congo," lying to the south of the lower river, were converted. The capital was renamed San Salvador. The king and chiefs were given pompous Portuguese titles; churches were erected, and an appearance of civilisation prevailed. By the middle of the sixteenth century San Salvador had become a great centre of Portuguese influence and the chief town of the Portuguese possessions there. Churches and houses had been built, and the priests were supreme. A sudden invasion of a powerful wandering tribe, known as Jaggas (were they a wave of the Zulus?), suddenly destroyed

all this; but by 1560 the Jaggas were expelled, and San Salvador waxed more important than ever. By about the middle of the seventeenth century it is said to have had 40,000 inhabitants. The king's palace, of wood surrounded by a stone wall, is stated to have been spacious and luxurious. There was a cathedral and many churches and fine private houses. Jesuits, priests, and monks had imposing mansions, and there was a general appearance of peace and prosperity. The king, who claimed sovereignty over an extensive territory, including Angola, about the middle of the century, made over to the Portuguese the country of the Sova, or chief who ruled over the region lying between San Salvador and the Lower Congo, down to the sea. The Sova objected to this and opposed the Portuguese domination by force of arms. The result was not only the exclusion of the Portuguese from the territory ceded to them, but also the hostility of the King of Congo, who renounced the domination of Portugal. From this time until the date of the Berlin Congress, San Salvador and the kingdom of Congo were really independent. The town itself fell into decay, and its churches and other buildings went to ruin, so that now San Salvador is simply a native town of mud huts, and it is difficult for the traveller to detect amid the wreck any remains of its former greatness. Still the new king is always anointed by a priest from St. Paul de Loanda, and among the natives, in their language and customs, may be detected some remnant of the old ecclesiastical influence. The king still bears a Portuguese name. The death of Dom Pedro V. was announced in

1891. St. Paul de Loanda, the capital of the west coast colonies, was founded in 1578. Other settlements were planted along the west coast. The neighbouring territories, Angola, Benguela, and Mossamedes, were gradually taken in, and stations planted in the interior; occupation here, it is only just to say, was comparatively effective.

St. Paul de Loando founded.

On the opposite coast Sofala was taken in 1505 by Pedro de Anhaya, who made the king tributary to Portugal, and laid the foundations of a fort. Tristan da Cunha captured Socotra and Lamu in 1507, and in the same year Duarto de Mello founded the fort of Mozambique. Quiloa had been taken in 1506, and the Portuguese established themselves there in 1508. Other cities along the coast—Melinde, Mombasa, Zanzibar Island, Magdoshu,—succumbed in time, as did Sena and other settlements on the Lower Zambesi. Though used as a place of call by Portuguese and other vessels, Portugal never established herself at the Cape. At all these places, and indeed all along the east coast, the Moors, as the Portuguese called them—that is to say, Moslem Arabs—had established themselves, had built up a flourishing commerce, and erected handsome and well-fortified cities. There does not seem, however, to have been any sort of union or confederation among these Arab settlements; each city was under its own sheik, who exercised more or less jurisdiction over the neighbouring territory. It was not always an easy task for the Portuguese to overcome the sheiks or sultans of these Arab cities or states, mostly independent of each other, and the

Conquest of East Coast.

cruelties which were characteristic of the adventurers of the period had free play. Mombasa and Melinde were burned down more than once, and little tenderness was shown even to women and children.

The whole of the east coast from Lourenço Marquez to Cape Guardafui was thus virtually in the power of the Portuguese by the year 1520. As the result of all the enterprise referred to, by the close of the sixteenth century, the contour of the African coast was at last laid down with surprising accuracy. No one seeks to deprive the Portuguese of the glory of this great achievement.

# CHAPTER IV

## PORTUGAL IN POSSESSION

Portuguese "discoveries" in the interior—Genesis of map of Central Africa—Discovery as a claim to possession—Establishment of Portuguese influence—The Monomotapa Empire—African "kingdoms"—Francisco Barreto's expedition—Other expeditions into the interior—The Treaty of Monomotapa—Real nature of Portuguese dominion in East Africa.

Portuguese "discoveries" in the interior.

IT would be foreign to the purpose of this work to discuss in detail the discoveries in the interior claimed by the Portuguese. It will be remembered that Ptolemy makes the Nile issue from his lakes south of the equator, and Ptolemy probably believed that the Continent itself did not extend much farther south. These lakes continued to figure in the Arab maps. As the Portuguese explorations proceeded, the Continent was found to extend farther and farther south. This involved an alteration in the interior economy of Africa. The Nile was, so to speak, stretched out in a southerly direction, and its lakes went with it. Even in the map of Martin Behaim (who accompanied Diego Cam in 1484), published in 1492, we find a great lake far south of the equator, though no great river seems to issue from it. This, it should be remembered, was only a few years after the discovery of the Congo, and

the planting of the mission at San Salvador. Juan de la Cosa's map of 1500 does not differ greatly from that of Behaim; in both the interior is crowded with mountain ranges, cities, and palaces, which can only be regarded as originating in the fancy of the cartographer. In the map of Diego Ribeiro of 1529 the outline of the coast begins to assume recognisable shape. Its interior is still covered with features which can be only regarded as imaginary, for even the most zealous Portuguese geographer will hardly maintain that within that brief period his countrymen had traversed the whole of Central Africa. In Ribeiro's map the hydrography begins to assume the form which may be regarded as typical of African maps down to the time of D'Anville. The Nile lakes (three in number lying in a line east and west) are located some ten degrees south of the equator, and give origin to several rivers. In the map of Duarto Lopez, given in Pigafetta's narrative of 1591, the two lakes lie north and south, separated by about ten degrees. On Mercator's map of 1541 there is one long lake which in shape recalls Tanganyika. In the map of Ortelius of 1587 the hydrography becomes more and more complicated, while in Dapper, a century later (1686), we have the old imaginary geography of Africa at its height—the interior filled with an impossible network of rivers and lakes, the Nile and the Congo having the same origin.

It must be said that Lake Maravi (Nyassa) figures vaguely in Portuguese maps of 1546 and 1623; and there seems evidence that a Portuguese may have visited the lake early in the seventeenth century. According

# AFRICA ACCORDING TO DIEGO RIBERO, 1529.

*Reproduced from the second Borgian map made at Seville*

to early Portuguese authorities, a lake in the position of Nyassa extended right northwards to the latitude of Mombasa.

Genesis of map of Central Africa.

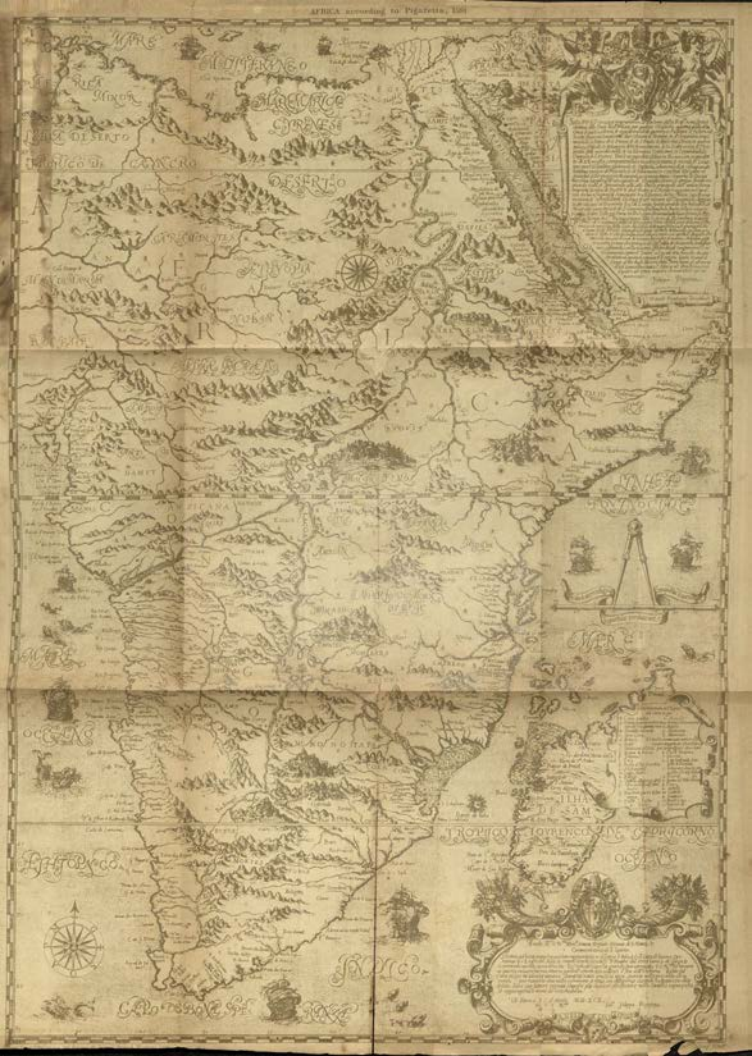
The question is how came all these lakes and rivers and mountains to be located in Central Africa within so short a period after the Portuguese had sailed down its coasts? There is no evidence forthcoming to convince even a partial inquirer that Portuguese adventurers, explorers, or missionaries had succeeded in penetrating so far into the interior as Tanganyika on the one side, and the Nile lakes on the other, nor indeed to Lake Nyassa itself. It is evident, from the fantastic hydrography of these old maps, that their lakes and rivers were not laid down from trustworthy observation. Even if Portuguese missionaries had seen these lakes with their own eyes, the results, as given in the maps and in the old treatises on geography, are so erroneous and misleading as to be worthless. The probability is, as may be seen from Pigafetta's narrative, that information was obtained from the natives, who then, as now, in some parts, had relations with Central Africa, of great "seas" or lakes or waters, which existed in the interior. Similar rumours had been brought down to the east coast long before Burton and Speke set out to "discover" Tanganyika. It is possible enough that rumours reached the missionaries in the kingdom of Congo—who seem to have journeyed occasionally for some distance into the interior—of a great sheet of water in the far interior, from which rivers took their rise; similar rumours may well have reached Mombasa as to Victoria Nyanza,

and putting this information alongside the Ptolemaic maps, the unscientific and credulous cartographers and geographers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had no difficulty in filling up the centre of the Continent with a congeries of features that no doubt proved satisfactory enough to the ignorance of their time. Even in our own days the map of Central Africa exhibits features which no white man has seen, but which have only been heard of from Arab traders or wandering natives. That the crowded maps of Africa of the sixteenth century represented the results of discovery in our sense of that term, is an idea that cannot be entertained. The task which the Portuguese really did accomplish requires no fanciful addition of this kind to enhance its importance, or heighten the glory of their enterprising princes and daring navigators.

Discovery as a claim to possession.

All this would have only an academic interest, were it not for the fact that in recent years Portugal has based her claims to large areas in Central Africa on priority of discovery. But even if she were the first in the field, if her early explorers had wandered on the shores of Tanganyika, Victoria Nyanza, and Nyassa, had navigated the Congo and the Zambesi from their sources to the sea, it would constitute no claim to exclusive ownership apart from effective occupation. Even old treaties, if not followed by continuous and effective occupation, accompanied by security to life and property, cannot be held as giving any Power the monopoly of a territory; that may be taken as one of the principles accepted by the Berlin Congress. The fact that Portugal has thought it

AFRICA according to Pigafetta, 1591



advisable to strengthen the treaties which she maintains she made in the seventeenth century in certain parts of Africa by other treaties in the later years of the nineteenth century, is proof enough that she herself feels that the former are practically invalid. And yet it must be said that in these early days of European connection with Africa, the planting of a fort on the coast seems to have been held as constituting a claim to an immense tract of land in the interior.

Establishment of Portuguese influence.

In the early years of the Portuguese occupation there seems to have been more activity on the west coast than on the east, and there existed but little rivalry with other powers. The influence of Portugal in the Congo region and in Angola continued to extend, both on the coast and towards the interior, as also on the Guinea Coast and north to the Bay of Arguin. On the east coast the Arab and Indian traders continued their trading operations under Portuguese auspices and to the profit of Portuguese officials and Portuguese traders. Attention was very soon directed to the gold mines of Manica, and the powerful "empire of Monomotapa" in the interior. That at the time when the Portuguese first established themselves on the east coast there was on the south of the Zambesi a king or chief, whose official title was Monomotapa, who lorded it over a number of smaller chiefs, there can be little doubt. According to Pigafetta and other authorities, there was a similar potentate who ruled on the north of the Zambesi, as far as the confines of the kingdom of Prester John (Abyssinia); the "kingdom" of that potentate was called Monemoezi. It is difficult if not

impossible to discover how far the early descriptions of these so-called kingdoms correspond with reality. Along the coasts were smaller chiefships—Sofala, Mozambique, Quiloa, Mombasa, Melinde; these, of course, were Arab settlements, and they may have been subject to the powerful potentates in the interior, or on terms of friendship with them. Portuguese writers describe the coast chiefs or kings and their wives as having been almost white, and richly dressed and adorned. These were, no doubt, Asiatics settled on the coast.

**The Monomotapa Empire.**

Of the great interior kingdoms, and especially that of the Monomotapa, the most wonderful descriptions are given; as for the Monemoezi kingdom, if it existed at all, its extent must have been greatly exaggerated. Tales are told of the Monomotapa's capital; his palace, with its innumerable halls and chambers richly adorned with tapestry, of the army of Amazons, of the rich dresses of the king and his daughters, of the ceremonies of his court, of the tribute brought to him by outlying chiefs, and many other details, as if the African chief had been a great semi-civilised potentate of Central Asia. We have no reason to believe that these descriptions are founded on the direct observations of trustworthy Portuguese travellers; they seem to have been obtained from the Arab settlers on the coast, or to have filtered down through native channels from the interior. Judging from the description given of the kings and princes of the kingdom of Congo, the glowing accounts of the glories of the Monomotapa may simply be the old chroniclers' way of describing what might have been

seen in our own days at the "court" of the Muato Yanvo, of the King of Dahomey, or of the potentate of Uganda. If we may believe these chroniclers, the natives even of the Guinea Coast were much more civilised than they have been since trustworthy travellers visited those countries.

African "kingdoms."

"Kingdoms" like that of the Monomotapa have been common enough in Africa. Some powerful chief established his sway over his neighbours, as the Muato Yanvo did in Lunda for some three centuries, or the Muato Cazembe in the Lake Moero region, or as Chaka did some sixty years ago in the Zulu countries, as Lobengula's father did in the Matabele region, as Umzila did in Gazaland. It is very doubtful if the Monomotapa was more advanced, more civilised, than any of these; certainly not more than was the late King Mtesa of Uganda, who after all was but a barbarous potentate living in a big hut, surrounded by a great kraal. That the wonderful ruins, known as Zimbaye or Zimbabwe, scattered over the country between the Zambesi and Limpopo, are those of the capital or other "cities" of the Monomotapa, is not suggested by any serious Portuguese writer. The Monomotapa's "city" seems to have been built of wood and mud; these ruins are of stone, and must, in all probability, have been erected by a people much further advanced in civilisation than any natives of South Africa ever have been. The existence of these ruins proves that at the time there may have been a busy traffic between the gold-yielding country in the interior and the coast between the

Zambesi and the Limpopo. The traffic to some extent existed when the Portuguese appeared on the coast, and in this way they could no doubt obtain much of the information that we find in Pigafetta and other chroniclers. With regard to these African "empires" the words of the late De Andrade Corvo in his invaluable work, *As Provincias Ultra marinas*, with reference to the empire of Monomotapa are well worth quoting. Referring to the sad state of affairs in Eastern Africa at the period when the Philips of Spain held Portugal, De Andrade Corvo says: "There is no part of the world which offers a better example of the weakness of power than among the savage rulers of the interior of Africa, where, at a moment's notice, a potentate is overthrown and a new empire founded, where before only existed wandering and dispersed tribes. And this new empire increases, strengthens, and grows with wonderful rapidity, and extends and spreads itself through vast regions, subjugating extensive provinces, and incorporating in itself various powers, until it finally becomes so great as to be wholly unmanageable, and then, with the same rapidity with which it came into existence, it dwindles down to insignificance and crumbles away."

With regard to the extent of the dominion of the Monomotapa, it is evident, from the description of its boundaries in Pigafetta and other authorities, that it coincided very nearly with the area over which Lobengula, King of Matabeleland, claims sovereignty. On the east was Manica, between which and the coast apparently was the kingdom of the Quiteve; and on the

north of Manica, on the Zambesi, the district of Chicova, where adventurers were lured for a time in the vain hope of finding silver mines. According to some writers the empire of Monomotapa embraced all these "kingdoms," and would thus have extended almost to the coast. One of the most famous and earliest of Portuguese expeditions into the interior was that made by Francisco Barreto in 1569. Barreto seems to have had a distinguished career in India before he was appointed to the government of Monomotapa. At this time, and until the seventeenth century, East Africa was included in the government of India. The most inconsistent accounts are given of this expedition. Barreto's force is said to have consisted of a thousand men of arms, besides a large number of Portuguese cavaliers, eager to distinguish themselves. With this force he ascended the Zambesi as far as Sena, and then marched along the south bank of the river to a place named Mengos, the chief of which had revolted against Monomotapa. Barreto had agreed to chastise the chief on condition that Monomotapa would permit him to proceed through his territory to the gold mines of Manica. But, according to the latest authoritative version of the story, issued by Dr. Paiva e Pona, under the auspices of the Lisbon Geographical Society, Barreto went down to Mozambique, and died two days after his return to Sena, where and at Tete he had founded forts.

Francisco Barreto's expedition.

One of Barreto's captains, Vasco Fernandez Homem, it is stated, started a few years later from Sofala, succeeded in reaching the mines of Manica, where he

Other expeditions into the interior.

witnessed the primitive process of extracting gold. But his expedition ended in disaster. Even before Barreto, a missionary priest, Gonsalvo da Silveira, in 1560 succeeded in reaching the territory of Monomotapa; at first well received, he was put to death a year after as a spy at the instigation of the Arabs, which seems to show that the latter had considerable influence with the native chiefs. The result of the really disastrous expeditions of Barreto and Homem was that the Portuguese government of Monomotapa was abolished as quickly as it had been erected. We read in the pages of later Portuguese writers of various other expeditions into the interior, of missionaries building churches in Manica, in the region we now call Mashonaland, westwards as far as Tati, northwards along the Zambesi, and in the country between Manica and the coast. Fairs, as they were called, *i.e.* factories or trading centres, were established, and forts, we are assured, were built. This went on through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it was only disasters in India, and the discovery of gold and diamonds in Brazil, that led to the practical abandonment of the mines and fairs and churches in Monomotapa's empire. As evidence of all this, we are told to look at the numerous ruins still scattered over the country.

**The Treaty of Monomotapa.**

According to one authority the Emperor of Monomotapa (as he was called) in 1607 ceded to the Portuguese all the mining rights of his territories. But the celebrated Treaty of Monomotapa, which was adduced in connection with the Delagoa Bay arbitration, and

given more recently as a proof that Portugal had a claim to Mashonaland, is generally dated 1630, though other dates are given. The common version has the emperor's mark (X) and a host of signatures of so-called Portuguese officials, but not of the Governor of Mozambique. It is difficult to treat the document seriously, or to believe that a potentate, who was far more powerful in that part of Africa than the Portuguese themselves, should ever have been induced to bind himself hand and foot to their service, for that is what he does in this extraordinary document. It is remarkable that De Andrade Corvo, at one time Portuguese minister of Foreign affairs, makes no allusion whatever to this famous treaty in dealing in somewhat minute detail with the history of the Portuguese settlements in East Africa. Throughout his work he writes, in the most despairing tone of the criminal mismanagement which prevailed from the beginning in these east coast possessions. But little real effort was made to develop the gold mines, while all other commercial resources were neglected—the traffic in slaves being the one thing that flourished and prospered. Portuguese writers tell us that at one time the chiefs of Sofala rendered as rent for their lands 80 bars of gold (said to be equal to £2,500,000). That this quantity of gold was obtained annually in early times from the Manica gold mines is in the highest degree probable; but no proof is forthcoming that it actually was obtained. No statistics available back to the beginning of the present century show a tithe of the above sum for gold among the exports. The total exports now do not

exceed £300,000 sterling, and generally therein gold does not figure at all. Summing up the history of the Portuguese possessions in East Africa during the seventeenth century, De Andrade Corvo says: "It was one full of woes for our colonies in the east, and particularly in East Africa. The Kaffirs in the south, and the Arabs in the north, attacked our dominions and punished us most cruelly for our frankness. At times victors, and at others beaten on all sides, we dragged out a sad existence in Mozambique, without progressing in colonisation, without developing commerce or industries, and without the famous gold and silver mines giving the marvellous results which were expected from them, and which the Government wished to zealously guard for itself. Moreover, in proportion as the colony goes on decaying, the pomp and luxury of the governors continue to increase; and truly the corruption increased, as it still continues to do, more and more."

**Real nature of Portuguese dominion in East Africa.**

Of the condition of things at the end of last century, De Andrade Corvo gives an equally lamentable account. Even such places as Inhambane, Sofala, Sena, and Tete, he speaks of as abandoned; the ancient commerce of the two former, so flourishing in the days of the Arab, was actually extinguished. Quoting from the report of Mogueira de Andrade on Mozambique, 1789, De Andrade Corvo writes: "We have no true and real dominion in this country." Gomes Laureiro, as quoted by De Andrade Corvo, writes in 1824 of the deplorable state of Mozambique, and says: "Whatever claims we may have to sovereignty

over certain parts, we have certainly no dominion over any part outside Mozambique." The real nature of the connection of Portugal with East Africa, and of what she has done for the commercial development of the country during the centuries she has been planted on the coast, is well summed up in the words of De Andrade Corvo: "The early Portuguese did no more than substitute themselves for the Moors, as they called them, in the parts that they occupied on the coast; and their influence extended to the interior very little, unless, indeed, through some ephemeral alliances of no value whatever, or through missionaries, or without any practical or lasting results. The true conquest is still (1885) to be made." It is remarkable that, in describing the geography even of the coast region of the country north and south of the Zambesi, De Andrade Corvo, formerly Portuguese foreign minister, is almost entirely indebted to English travellers. It is clear from the work of this authoritative Portuguese writer that, in his opinion, Portugal never possessed dominion in any of the territories north and south of the Zambesi, except perhaps in a few coast towns, and not always even there.

This conclusion is confirmed by the course of events in Zambesia itself. The native tribes carried on their wars as before. The Monomotapa's empire was broken up some time in the eighteenth century, though long before that it must have been tottering. Probably by that time the irresistible Zulu had made his way south of the Zambesi, and was sweeping all before him as he did on the north. The Portuguese were helpless to prevent

this, as they were helpless some sixty years ago to prevent Lobengula's father from taking possession of Matabeleland (the old "empire" of Monomotapa); and Gungunhana's father from doing the same with Gazaland, including the rich, gold-bearing Manica region. What would be the value of our dominions in India if we were powerless to prevent war among the native states, and were ourselves swept down to our stations on the coast?

The importance of the subject in view of recent events must be the excuse for following briefly the connection of Portugal with East Africa down practically to the present time. By the end of the sixteenth century, of all her East African conquests, she possessed, according to the testimony of her own chroniclers, only Sofala, Mozambique, and Mombasa. By this time, however, she had planted two forts on the Morocco coast, one at Mazagan; but these did not serve her long. It is but just to recall the fact that in 1580 Portugal became united to Spain, and during the sixty years till 1640 that the union lasted, it was peculiarly humiliating to Portugal, and left the little country, that had before shown such phenomenal energy, spiritless and apparently exhausted. Up to the date of this subjection it may fairly be said that Portugal had in her power all the coasts of Africa, except that of the Mediterranean and Red Sea.

# CHAPTER V

## THE BEGINNING OF RIVALRY

Portugal's monopoly of Africa—Slaves and gold—English enterprise begins—French enterprise—England begins the slave-trade—First English chartered Company—Beginning of a new era—The Dutch enter the field—Growth of the slave-trade—First British chartered Company—The British Company of 1662—Another new Company—Danish forts—Brandenburg colonies—The French—The English Company's misfortunes—The Dutch at the Cape—The English in Tangier.

BEFORE the close of the fifteenth century the Portuguese had erected forts at Arguin and El Mina, had established trading factories on the Senegal, the Gambia, the Rio Grande, on the Gold Coast and the Gulf of Benin, and on the Congo; had planted colonies on Madeira, the Cape Verd Islands, and the Island of St. Thomas. By about 1520 Portugal, as we have seen, had made herself mistress of all the coasts of Africa, except that of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and even in the latter, a few years later, attempts were made to obtain possession of Massawa and other ports, and to establish Portuguese influence over Abyssinia. While, no doubt, Africa was valued by Portugal for its own sake, and especially for its gold, and ultimately for its slaves, it was probably, especially the east coast stations, regarded mainly as a half-way house to India and the East, the conquest of which absorbed the energies of

Portugal's monopoly of Africa.

Portugal during the first half of the sixteenth century. The triumphs of the Portuguese conquistadores in Asia far excelled all that was accomplished in Africa, both in brilliancy, extent, and the value of the commercial results. But the glory of Portugal was even more shortlived in Asia than in Africa. During much of the sixteenth century she had no rivals in the latter continent. The other powers of Europe—England, Spain, France—were absorbed with the conquest of the New World. Portugal had taken Brazil on the way to Africa. By 1520 Cortez had conquered Mexico, and Magellan had passed through the Straits that bear his name. So early as 1508 the Spaniards had introduced negro slaves into the West Indies. Cartier entered the St. Lawrence in 1535, and the colonisation of Canada by France began in 1542, a year after De Soto had been on the Mississippi. Not until our own times was there any activity on the African continent to be compared with that which, within a century after its discovery, made America an appanage of Europe. Rivals were slow to enter the African field, and when they did they were kept at bay by the ships of Portugal. It is strange, in the light of recent events, to read a passage like the following which occurs in Postlethwayte. After referring to the forts established at a few places on the west coast, he goes on to say: "By virtue of which possession they not only claimed, and for many years enjoyed, the right in and to all the said land, but likewise seized and confiscated the ships of all other nations as often as they found any of these traders in any parts of the said coast."

But this monopoly was shortlived, at least on the west coast. Bosman, one of the most amusing and instructive writers on Africa of his time (the end of the seventeenth century), tells us that "formerly the Portuguese served for setting dogs to spring the game, which, as soon as they had done, was seized by others." Long before Barreto's disastrous expedition into the country of the Monomotapa, the export of slaves, not only to America, but to Europe, had become one of the most lucrative branches of Portuguese trade in Africa. By the middle of the fifteenth century 700 or 800 slaves were exported annually to Portugal alone; and in 1517 Charles V. granted a patent to a Flemish trader, authorising him to import 4000 slaves annually to the West Indies. In virtue of a bull from the Pope a market was opened in Lisbon; and as early as 1537, it is said, 10,000 to 12,000 slaves were brought to that city, and transported thence to the West Indies. This "carrying trade," as it was called, rapidly increased, for Portugal was in time joined by other powers. Gold, no doubt, was obtained from the Gold Coast and from Manica, but the exportation of natives soon became the staple trade of Africa. It is difficult to estimate the value of the gold exported, but from the Gold Coast, at least, it must have been for a time considerable. It was no doubt that which brought the first rivals of Portugal into the field.

Slaves and gold.

As early as the last year of the reign of Edward VI. (1553) the first English ships were fitted out for Guinea by some London merchants. Captain Thomas Windham made a voyage "for the trade of Barbary." "He

English enterprise begins.

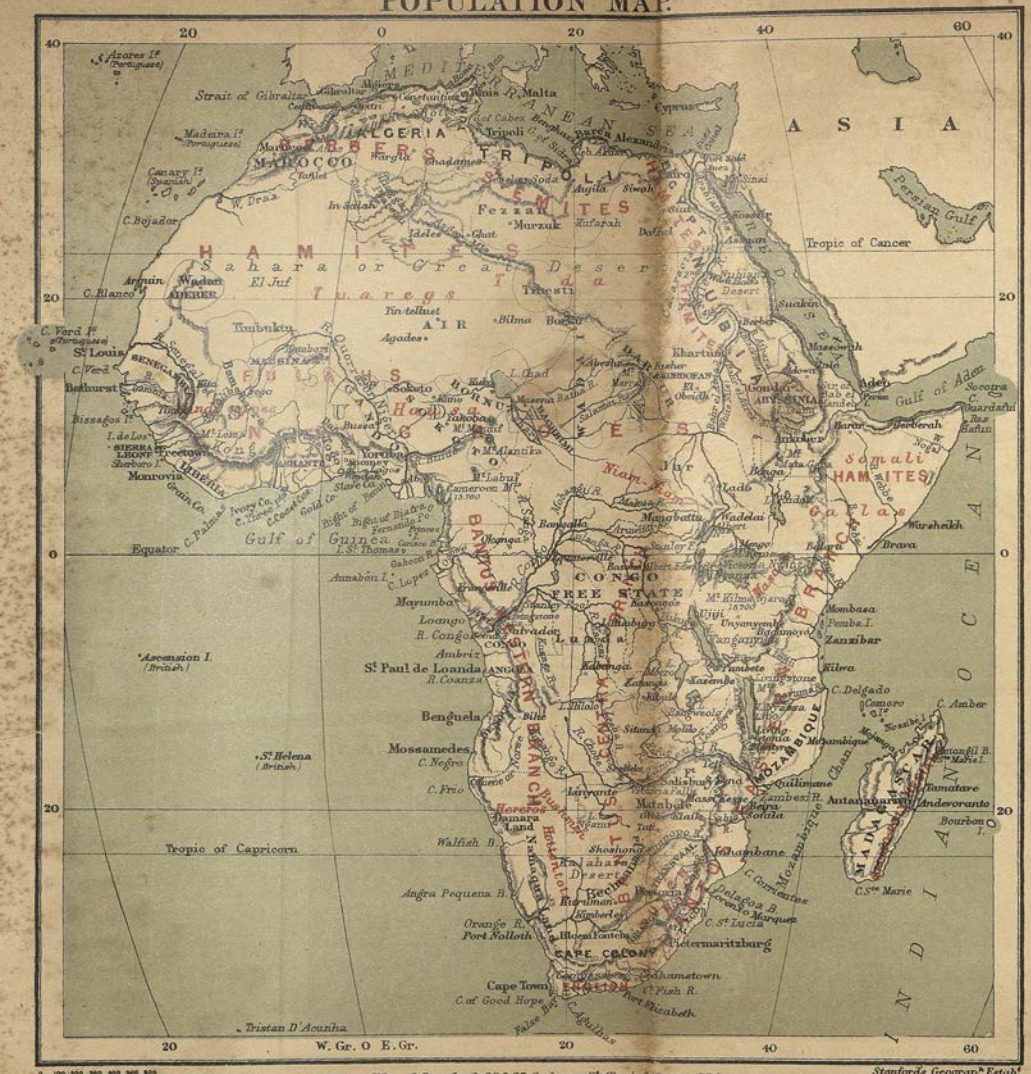
sailed," says Astley, "to Marokko; this was the first voyage we meet with to the western coast of Africa. "Here, by the way," Windham tells us in Hakluyt, "it is to be observed that the Portuguese were much offended with this our new trade into Barbary; and both in our voyage the year before, and also in this, gave out in England, through the merchants, that if they took us in these parts they would use us as their mortal enemies." How are the mighty fallen! In 1552 Windham made a second voyage, and this time succeeded in reaching the Gold Coast, his great quest, as was the case with all other adventurers at this period, being gold. He returned satisfied with 150 lbs. of the precious metal. A third voyage made by Windham in 1553 ended in disaster. One of the most interesting of these early English trading voyages to Guinea was that of John Lok in 1554. He had three small vessels and a pinnace or two. He describes his voyage in minute detail. He tells us that off the Canaries both Spanish and Portuguese carried on fishing on a considerable scale at certain seasons. Lok took over two months to get to the Gold Coast. He and his companions traded along the coast near Cape Three Points and Elmina. They bartered cloth for Guinea pepper, elephant tusks, and gold. Lok brought home with him 400 lbs. of gold, 36 cwts. of Guinea pepper, and about 250 tusks of ivory, some of them weighing 90 lbs. each. Thus Master Lok's venture was a very successful one in spite of the obstacles placed in his way by the Portuguese.

In the following year William Towrson made a

similar trading voyage to the Gold Coast, stopping every few miles to trade with the natives, who evidently had learned to drive hard bargains. The favourite articles of exchange were brass vases, or bowls, besides beads, cork, and other things. For these Towrson obtained a good supply of pepper, ivory, and gold. On several occasions the Portuguese fired upon the boats, but did no harm. Towrson sailed some distance beyond Cape Three Points. He went out again in the following year, and when near the Guinea Coast fell in with a small fleet of French traders, who joined themselves to Towrson, so that they might combine to resist the attacks of the Portuguese ships that were cruising about the coast to drive off intruders. French vessels were also met with by other English traders, which shows that at this early date France had her eye on West Africa. Indeed, some French writers tell us that she had never entirely ceased her connection with Africa since the old days of the Dieppe adventurers in the fourteenth century, and that one of the old forts was still occupied on the river Senegal. But there is no satisfactory evidence that such was the case. Towrson did good business again in this voyage, though he was attacked by the Portuguese and deserted by the French. In the third voyage in 1558 he again met with several French vessels, but treated them as rivals, and put them to flight. Thus, by the middle of the sixteenth century, a busy traffic was carried on by various nationalities with West Africa, though the Portuguese lorded it over all the coast. Beside those at Arguin and at Elmina, it is evident that by this time they had

French enterprise.

# POPULATION MAP.


ASIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Strait of Gibraltar
Malta
Cyprus
Madeira Is (Portuguese)
Canary Is (Spanish)
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
TRIPOLI
BERBERS
C. Bojador
HAMITES
Sahara or Great Desert
Fezzan
Murzuk
Ghat
Tuaregs
Tibbus
Tropic of Cancer
Arguin
Wadan
El Jof
C. Blanco
MOORS
Timbuktu
AIR
Agades
C. Verd Is (Portuguese)
St Louis
SENEGAMBIA
Bathurst
Bissagos Is
I. de Los
SIERRA LEONE
Sherboro I.
Monrovia
Grain Co.
Ivory Co.
Gold Co.
Slave Coast
Benin
Biafra
Fernando Po
Cameroon Mt 13,760
Equator
Gulf of Guinea
St Thomas I.
Annabon I.
C. Lopez
Ascension I. (British)
St Paul de Loanda
ANGOLA
Benguela
Mossamedes
C. Negro
St Helena (British)
C. Frio
Tropic of Capricorn
Walfish B.
Angra Pequena B.
Orange R.
Port Nolloth
Hottentots
Namaqua Land
Great Namaqua Desert
Kalahari Desert
Bechuanas
Kuruman
Kimberley
Griqua Town
Bloemfontein
Hereros
Damara Land
Ovambos
Matabele
Mashonas
Gaza
Shoshong
Tati
Sofala
Inhambane
Delagoa B.
C. St Lucia
Natal
Pietermaritzburg
CAPE COLONY
Cape Town
C. of Good Hope
Table Mt
Simon's Bay
Algoa B.
Port Elizabeth
C. Agulhas
False Bay
Tristan D'Acunha
Zambesi R.
Victoria Falls
Kafue R.
Lake Ngami
Limpopo R.
Transvaal
Orange Free State
Basutos
Zulus
Kaffirs
Bechuanas
Matabele
Mashonas
Gaza
Mozambique
Quilimane

built forts at other points on the coast. Old Richard Eden speaks of the "arbitrary monopoly of the Portuguese on this coast, of such who, on account of conquering 40 or 50 miles here and there, certain fortresses or block-houses among naked people, think themselves worthy to be lords of half the world, and angry that others should enjoy the commodities which they themselves cannot wholly possess." Had Richard Eden lived in our own days he might well have used the same language about the Portuguese in Africa.

England begins the slave-trade.

These private English ventures to the coast of Guinea went on during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. Sir John Hawkins has the credit or discredit of having been the first Englishman to engage in the slave-trade. In 1562 he fitted out three ships, sailed to Guinea, obtained 300 negroes, conveyed them to Hispaniola, sold them, and returned to England with the proceeds. Notwithstanding the indignation of Elizabeth, Hawkins continued the lucrative trade, which the Portuguese and Spanish had already been carrying on for many years. But commercial and political relations were also being established between England and Barbary, and in 1585 Queen Elizabeth granted a patent or charter to the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Leicester, and others, for exclusive trading with Morocco for twelve years. But the first real English chartered African Company was that for which Elizabeth granted a patent in 1588. Three voyages were made under this Company (1589, 1590, and 1591). It was found that the Portuguese had been expelled from the Senegal by the natives, though they still had stations on the Gambia,

First English chartered company.

while they did their best to ruin the English expeditions which, however, secured a varied cargo. It was also found that the French had been trading to the Senegal and the Gambia since 1560.

This English Company, be it remembered, was founded in the year of the Armada, and eight years after Portugal had been absorbed by Spain. It was about a century after the Cape had been rounded, and during that century Europe had taken a new departure —she had left the Dark Ages behind. America had been discovered, and was stimulating the pent-up energies of the Old World to fresh enterprises. Protestantism, and the new Learning, rebellion against old tyrannies, the spirit of modern scientific inquiry—these were some of the characteristics of the new phase on which the world had entered. Beginning of a new era.

The Dutch had thrown off the yoke of Spain in 1581, and though they had yet a struggle before them ere they established their freedom on a firm footing, they too began to look abroad for new fields of enterprise in America, in Africa, in Asia. As Spain was now virtually the possessor of all the acquisitions of Portugal, Holland considered her African settlements and colonies legitimate spoil. The first Dutch trading voyage to Guinea seems to have been made about the year 1595. Holland rapidly gained supremacy all along the coast, and swept not only the ships of Spain and Portugal from these seas, but also those of France and England. By the time the Dutch West India Company was founded in 1621, Holland had obtained a commanding footing in West Africa. The Dutch enter the field.

Goree had been purchased from the king of that country, and various other points on the coast had been occupied by the Dutch. Elmina was taken in 1637, and shortly after Axim and other forts followed, while new forts were built all along the coast. The Gold Coast was studded with forts, for in those times it was considered absolutely essential that, whenever a coast was taken possession of, forts should be built to keep off intruders. The Charter of the Dutch Company gave it the monopoly of trade from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope. While, no doubt, gold and ivory and pepper were regarded as important articles of trade, the name of the Company is indication enough of its great purpose—the supply of the Dutch and other colonies of the West Indies with negro slaves. By the beginning of the seventeenth century slaves had come to be regarded as the staple commodity of the African soil; and the great rivalry that grew up between the various European powers for colonies in West Africa was mainly due to the desire to have the monopoly of the slave-market. British traders were making continual complaints to Parliament of the difficulty of getting a supply of negroes "of the best sort" for the sugar colonies in the West Indies, owing mainly to the monopoly of the Dutch. The latter had held St. Paul de Loanda for some time; but when, in 1641, they made peace with Portugal (after the latter regained its independence), they gave up that position, though they were virtually masters from Arguin Bay to the Bight of Benin.

Growth of the slave-trade.

The first British African Company does not seem to have done much good, nor indeed did those chartered

First British chartered Company.

AFRICA by Jacob van Meurs, 1688.

in 1618 by James I., and in 1631 by Charles I. The first Company, though its special object was to trade with the Gambia, does not seem to have obtained any permanent footing there. The Company chartered in 1618 made strenuous efforts to push its way up the Gambia in the hope of reaching Timbuktu, which was then regarded as the great trade emporium of the interior. Both the Senegal and the Gambia, it should be remembered, were at the time conjectured to have a connection with the Niger, on which Timbuktu was known to be situated. Several expeditions pushed their way up the Gambia, but ended in disaster. It was intended to build a series of forts on the river, but it soon became evident that the gold which it was hoped would be found in abundance was practically non-existent; and so the English quest for Timbuktu was abandoned. At the time of the Restoration the only forts possessed by Englishmen were on the Gambia, and at Cormantine, near Anamabo, on the Gold Coast.

The British Company of 1662.

The Company, chartered by Charles II. in 1662, was more successful, and a fort was built on James Island in the Gambia. This Company was formed for the purpose of trying to checkmate the Dutch, who were constantly harassing English traders, seizing their ships, and destroying the stations they attempted to establish. The conduct of the Dutch became so intolerable that Charles II. declared war against them in 1665, and the English captured forts at Seconda, Cape Coast Castle, and other places, and built new ones for themselves. But the British Company continued to be unfortunate, and in 1672 its rights

Another new Company.

and properties were made over to a new Royal African Company, to which was given the monopoly of trade for a thousand years from the coast of Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope. Forts and factories were built at various places between Dixcove and Accra. By this time also Denmark had joined in this early partition of Africa, and had a fort near Cape Coast Castle, shortly after taken over by England, and renamed Fort Royal. There was another Danish fort at Accra, and others were built at various points along the coast; but all were sold to England in 1850 for £10,000.

Danish forts.

Brandenburg colonies.

Still another European power had joined in the early scramble which may be said to have reached its height in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Germany's recent enormous annexations in Africa are by no means her first efforts to obtain a share in the partition of the Continent. Under the auspices of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William I., trading connections were formed with the west coast of Africa, and the Brandenburg African Company was founded in 1681. Frederick was the Bismarck of his day, and he had ambitions not only in the direction of Africa but towards India; and, like Bismarck, one great object which he had in view was the improvement of the navy. Gross Friedrichsburg was built in 1683, near Cape Three Points, and treaties were made with the chiefs of the coast and the interior. Expeditions for trade and exploration were sent inland, and for some years there was busy traffic between Prussia and West Africa as far south as Angola. Not only on the Gold Coast, but in Arguin Bay, on the south of Cape Blanco,

where the Portuguese had built a fort long before, these Prussians also established themselves and carried on a trade with the interior. But events at home were too much for the Elector and his son and successor, and about 1720 Prussia disappeared from the African arena, not to reappear till about eight years ago, when the colonial aspirations, which had been pent up for 160 years, burst forth, and the young German Empire found herself possessed, within a few months, of an African domain of close on a million square miles.

The French.

It must be said that the French were from the first more persevering and determined than any other power in their attempts to push their way into the interior. A settlement (St. Louis) was formed at the mouth of the Senegal by the Company which had been chartered in France, just as similar companies had been chartered in England and Holland, one great object of all being the export of slaves to America. As with England, so with France; the first companies failed, but others were formed in rapid succession, and French influence spread in this part of the west coast. Under Brue and other enterprising explorers stations were established far up the Senegal, the great object being to reach Timbuktu, as the English endeavoured to do by way of the Gambia. Arguin and Goree were taken from the Dutch, and many difficulties placed in the way of English operations. It may fairly be said that France has never relaxed her efforts to secure the domination of the Senegambian region and the countries watered by the Niger. The operations which are being

carried on now on the Upper Niger are but the latest stages of those so successfully begun by Sieur Brue in the latter part of the seventeenth century. In 1695 the French took the Gambia, and when it was restored to England, French influence was in the ascendant, and may be said to have remained so since. Indeed, towards the end of the century, the French Senegal Company harassed the settlements and the ships of all other nationalities. In 1683-85 we find them confiscating vessels belonging to the Portuguese, Dutch, and Prussians, and they persistently advanced claims against the Royal African Company until at last a war broke out between the two nations.

**The English Company's misfortunes.**

In 1698 the monopoly of the English Company was abolished for fourteen years, and at the end of that period it was not restored. In consideration of the expense which the Company had been put to in erecting and maintaining forts, a ten per cent (*ad valorem*) duty was allowed for administrative purposes, but that seems to have been quite insufficient to cover expenses; and that too, in spite of the monopoly which they obtained by the Treaty of Nimeguen of the importation of slaves into the Spanish West Indies. It is highly instructive to read some of the pamphlet literature of the latter half of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries, and learn of the hot controversies which then raged over the Company and its monopoly. Here is an extract from a pamphlet, published in 1690, entitled "A Treatise discussing the Intrigues and Arbitrary Proceedings of the Governing Company, by William Wilkinson, Mariner." It affords an

idea of the articles which constituted the trade of West Africa at this period, and also of the bitter feeling which prevailed in certain quarters against the Company. Some of the charges, indeed, remind one curiously of similar charges made in our own day against another British Company, whose sphere is not far from that of the Company of the seventeenth century.

"Let us now look toward Africa, and take a view of the riches of that place which is undiscovered to the merchant, and particularly, the boundless woods of Cam, which is a red wood fit for dyeing, the prodigious quantities of dry hides of all sorts, of wild and tame cattle, useful in the making of shoes, boots, trunks, saddles, and furniture, etc.; the inexhaustible treasure of gold, the vast quantities of elephants' teeth, bees'-wax, and honey, and the inestimable riches of gums, ostriches'-feathers, and amber-grease, which commodities are all purchased for the goods of the growth and manufacture of England, and are brought directly home, which is a double advantage, as well to the kingdom, as to the royal revenue.

"Or, if we consider the trade of negro servants, which proves so advantageous to the western plantations in the several islands of America, as well as that continent whose chief commerce is sugar, tobacco, indigo, ginger, cotton, and dyeing stuffs, which are the natural product of the New World, whose penury or plenty lies indispensably upon the trade of negro servants from Africa, which the Royal company manage with more than an ordinary slight for their own advantage, taking care that the planters shall never be furnished

with negroes sufficient to follow their business with satisfaction, and imposing what prices they please, and do trust but for six months; for which they exact such an interest, that they, in a manner, sweep away the profit of their labours, so that although be the planter's industry never so great, yet he shall not be able to effect his designs, because his hands are thus bound by the company; yet I am sure that if the planters were furnished with negroes from Africa, answerable to their industry, that four times the sugar, indico, cottons, etc., would be imported every year; then let every rational man judge, if this would not be infinitely more advantageous to the kingdom in general.

"And to such a height is the feuds of this company grown, that they presume not only to oppress the subjects abroad, but likewise to lord it over them here in England, by imposing 40 per cent upon such as with their licence trade to Africa, as Samuel Sherring, and others, now in London, can witness, who paid them the value aforesaid, for a permission to trade at Angola, a place in Africa, and remote from any of their castles and factories, and in the Portugueses territories, which is both hurtful to traffick, and prejudicial to the king's prerogative and revenue, it being a point of religion to pay tribute to Cesar; but I never heard of any law, or gospel, to oblige men to pay tribute to the African Company."

**The Dutch at the Cape.**

It should be noticed that the Dutch had established themselves at the Cape in 1652, their main if not sole object being to secure a half-way house between Europe and India. The Dutch Government, however, encouraged the settlement of Dutch emigrants, but the

white population increased but slowly, and the tyrannical restrictions of the Dutch East India Company did not encourage settlements. Thus for many years the effective occupation was confined to Cape Town and a few miles around it.

The English in Tangier.

Although of no importance in connection with the partition of Africa, it may be noted that England held Tangier, in Morocco, from 1662 to 1684. Portugal, after many struggles, had obtained possession of this important position in 1471. When, in 1662, Catherine of Braganza was married to Charles II. of England, Tangier formed part of her dowry. But England found the position so troublesome and expensive that she abandoned it in 1684, after having destroyed the fortifications. Portugal had a footing in Morocco till 1769, when she evacuated Mazagan, while Spain still holds the old fortress of Ceuta.

# CHAPTER VI

## STAGNATION AND SLAVERY

Position in beginning of eighteenth century—Settlements in West Africa—New English African Company—Wars of the eighteenth century—Sierra Leone—The Cape—The slave-trade—The Portuguese in East Africa—An Austrian Settlement—Feeling against the slave-trade.

Position in beginning of eighteenth century.

THUS, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find in the African field all the chief European factors which have played so prominent a part in recent years in the partition of the Continent, in addition to that Moslem or so-called Arab element which was then dominant over half of Africa. Far stronger then than now was the hold which Turkey had over the north of the Continent; her power extended from Egypt (conquered in 1517) to Algeria; while the influence of Morocco was felt as far as Timbuktu and Guinea.

During the whole of the eighteenth century there was comparatively little change in the relative positions of the European powers. Holland gave a king to England in 1688, but that had little influence in promoting friendly relations between the two sets of colonies in West Africa. Portugal continued to reign in the region south of the Congo, and, with varied fortunes, subject constantly to the attacks of the natives,

occupied a few fortified places between Delagoa Bay and Mozambique; for, as we shall see, she had to abandon all the coast further north. The Dutch held their own at the Cape, and French and Dutch and English struggled for supremacy on the west coast, which, during the eighteenth century, continued to be the chief field of contention among the European powers in Africa. Let us see briefly what was the position in West Africa in the first half of the century.

Between Cape Blanco and St. Paul de Loanda there were in all forty-three forts or stations. The first European settlement on the mainland was at Arguin, on the Gum Coast, as it was called, in about 20° north latitude. This had originally belonged to Portugal, then to the Dutch, then to the French, then to the King of Prussia, who offered it to England for £100,000, but from whom it was ultimately bought by the Dutch for £30,000. It was, however, taken by the French in 1721. France may be said to have been supreme from here to the Gambia, having a fort on the Senegal, and settlements and plantations for a long distance up the river. There was even then another fort and settlement at Goree, near Cape Verd. Settlements in West Africa.

England's west coast possessions then as now began at the Gambia, where the Royal African Company had a good fort on James Island, with sundry factories higher up on each side of the river. There had also been a fort on the Sierra Leone river, but it had been abandoned in 1728; as had, too, the fort on Sherboro river. Farther round, on the Guinea Coast, we find English forts at Dixcove, Secondee, Commenda,

Cape Coast Castle, Fort Royal, Queen Anne's Point (these three close together), Annishan, Anamabo, Agga, Tantumquerry, Winnebah, Shidáoe, Accra, Allampo, Quetta, Whyda, Jacquin, Cabinda. These were all within a few miles of each other, except the last, which was near the mouth of the Congo. Some of them had been abandoned by 1740, though they may have been reoccupied, and in nearly every case they were flanked by Dutch forts. Cabinda had been taken, plundered, and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1723; and as to Whyda, the remarks of a pamphleteer of the period are worth quoting. It was "a place where the English and Dutch only were allowed to trade formerly; for which reason the Royal African Company built and have still kept up and maintained a fort there, called William's Fort; but some years since the French obtained leave to build a fort at the same place; and it is now through the cunning of the natives made a free port for all natives to resort to; the consequence whereof is, that negroes, which were purchased there when the African Company first settled among them for about fifty shillings or three pounds per head, are now advanced to £20 per head, first cost." This is the tone in which the African slave-trade was generally written about during much of the eighteenth century, when this traffic was at its height.

The only forts possessed by the Portuguese on all this coast, which they had discovered, and which gave a title to their King, were at Cuchoo and Bissao, where they have a patch at the present day. Of course then as now they held possession of St. Paul de Loanda,

AFRICA, according to H. Moll. 1710

PART OF EUROPE
PART OF ASIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
NATOLIA
Carmania
Syria
Levant
Jerusalem
DESART
ARABIA
GULF OF BASSORA
Medina
Mecca
THE RED SEA
ARABIA
Char
Dafar
Phasar
Sabath
Gorham
NUBIA
ABISSINA
Sue of Babelmandel
C. Gardafui
Costa Barbara
Adea
C. de Bassas
Bravas
Bassa de Anobra
BARBARIA
ALGIER
TUNIS
TRIPOLI
Gulf of Sidra
Gulf of Capes
Madera Isl. to Portugal
Canary Islands to Spain
C. Blanco
C. Bojador
C. Nun
C. Cantin
C. Spartel
Sue of Gibraltar
P. of Spain
C. St. Vincent
Salvages
Terra Alta
Mt. Atlas
Mt. Caucasus
Mt. Libanus
Jordan R.
Dead Sea
Bethlehem
Nazareth
Sea of Galilee
Damascus
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Babylon
Bassora
Persian Gulf
Ormus
Mocha
Babelmandel Strait
Socotora
Aden
Red Sea
Nile R.
Grand Cairo
Alexandria
Rosetta
Damietta
Lake Mareotis
Lake Moeris
Lybian Desert
Desert of Barca
Desert of Zahara
Desert of Zuen Ziga
Desert of Ghir
Desert of Zeth
Desert of Nubia
Desert of Arabia
Desert of Egypt
Desert of the Dates
Desert of Fazzen
Desert of Barca
Desert of Lempta
Desert of Berdoa
Desert of Gegdum
Desert of Suma
Desert of Barnu
Desert of Cauga
Desert of Zanfara
Desert of Bilma
Desert of Agades
Desert of Ghir
Desert of Tegorarin
Desert of Mezrab
Desert of Tenes
Desert of Tesset
Desert of Tafilet
Desert of Draa
Desert of Segelmessa
Desert of Sus
Desert of Ceuta
Desert of Tedla
Desert of Fez
Desert of Tripoli
Desert of Zahara
Desert of Zuen Ziga
Desert of Ghir
Desert of Zeth
Desert of Nubia
Desert of Arabia
Desert of Egypt
Desert of the Dates
Desert of Fazzen
Desert of Barca
Desert of Lempta
Desert of Berdoa
Desert of Gegdum
Desert of Suma
Desert of Barnu
Desert of Cauga
Desert of Zanfara
Desert of Bilma
Desert of Agades
Desert of Ghir
Desert of Tegorarin
Desert of Mezrab
Desert of Tenes
Desert of Tesset
Desert of Tafilet
Desert of Draa
Desert of Segelmessa
Desert of Sus
Desert of Ceuta
Desert of Tedla
Desert of Fez
Desert of Tripoli
NEGROLAND
GUINEA
GOLD COAST
IVORY COAST
GRAIN COAST
MALLE
GAGO
I am credibly informed, that S. Coast for about hundred Leagues North of the Coast of Guinea, is inhabited by white Men, or at least a different Kind of People from the Blacks, who wear Cloaths and have Use of Letters; make Gilt, & those Sorts of them keep the
ETHIOPIA this Country is wholly Unknown to the EUROPEANS
ETHIOPIAN SEA
Sailing from Great Britain to the East Indies in the Spring and Fall
Tropick of Capricorn
I. Ascension
I. St. Helena
I. St. Mathis
I. Annabon
I. Fernando Po
I. St. Thomas
I. Princes
C. Lopez
C. Formosa
C. Negro
Cape of Good Hope or C. Bona Esperanca
C. Agulhas
Course to Sunda &c.
A Dangerous Shore
MONOMOTAPA
MONOEMUGI
MONOMOTAPA
MACACO
CAFFRERIA
CAFFERS
HOTTENTOTS
Deserta
Costa
Terra de Natal
Natal R.
Terra de
Quiola
Chicora
Chicora
Monga
Mata
Inhambana
Sofala
Sabia
Angola
Congo
Zaire
Zambre
Zaire Mts.
Cazembe
Cazembe Mts.
Lake Zembre
Lake Cazembe
Lake Zaire
Lake Zambre
Lake Gazembe
Lake Quarar
Lake Maravi
Lake Zembre
Lake Cazembe
Lake Zaire
Lake Zambre
Lake Gazembe
Lake Quarar
Lake Maravi
Mombaze
Mombaze Fort
Mombaze I.
Zanzibar
Terra de St. Raphael
Bassas de Ranhas
Bassas de Patawa
Bassal de Patawa
Cape del Gado
Cape Corrientes
Inhambana
Sofala R.
Quilimane R.
Zambre R.
Zaire R.
Cazembe R.

where we are told they had several forts and a large city, and where they carried on "a very great and advantageous inland trade for some hundreds of miles." Their great fort on the Gold Coast, St. George Del Mina, had long ago been taken and occupied by the Dutch, who possessed sixteen out of the forty-three forts on the coast.

Although in 1740 Denmark had only one fort on the coast, at Accra, she had later on three others, at Fingo, Adda, and Quetta; all of which she sold to England in 1850 for £10,000.

Cape Coast Castle and some of the other forts, Dutch and English, were at the time formidable buildings; most of them had "negro houses," in which the natives were stored in readiness to be shipped across the Atlantic to the plantations. The maintenance of these forts and the establishments connected therewith was a perpetual source of expense, and if we may believe contemporary statements, the British Company was in a continual state of embarrassment, and in need of subsidies from Government. There was much controversy during the first half of the century as to what should be done with the African Company; whether its monopoly should be maintained, or whether it should be abolished, and the African trade thrown open to all comers. Finally, the old Company was succeeded in 1750 by the African Company of Merchants, constituted by Act of Parliament, with liberty to trade and to form establishments on the west coast between 20° north and 20° south latitude.

**A new English African Company.**

Let us recall the fact that the eighteenth century

Wars of the eighteenth century.

and the first fifteen years of the nineteenth was a period of almost chronic war in Europe. There was the war of the Spanish succession (1700), our own rebellions, the Quadruple Alliance against Spain (1718) the Polish troubles, the war of the Austrian succession (1741-48), the Seven Years' War (1758), the almost continuous war between France and England ending in Waterloo, during which we annexed Canada, established our supremacy in India, and obtained a firm footing in other parts of the world, while we lost the United States, the greatest of all our colonies. During all this period, except in Egypt and at the Cape, Africa did not receive a large share of attention, though the forts on the west coast were continually changing hands. The Dutch lost the supreme place they occupied during the latter part of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. The British forts and factories were valued mainly as slave depôts, and similar depôts were planted by traders of various nationalities all over the west coast, and up the estuary of the Congo.

The French continued to advance steadily in the Senegal region. Towards the end of the century British traders began to establish themselves on the Oil Rivers, though at that time oil was of little or no account. In 1787 England resumed her old connection with Sierra Leone, where a private Company obtained land on which to establish a settlement for freed slaves. Great things were expected to come of this. The first negroes sent out were 400 gathered from the streets of London, together with sixty whites,

Sierra Leone.

mostly women of bad character. A considerable number of Europeans, chiefly English and Dutch, were also sent out to Sierra Leone apparently under the belief that it was quite possible for Europeans to colonise West Africa. It need hardly be said that the sufferings were great and the deaths appalling. A similar attempt on the part of a number of Swedes at the same time ended in disaster. Among the Swedes was one named Nordenskjöld, besides the traveller Sparrmann, and Arrhenius the naturalist.

The Cape.

At the Cape French Protestants found a refuge, and the Dutch burghers, dissatisfied with the rule of the Company, trekked inland to the Karroo to carry on their farming free from molestation. But the Company's rule followed them, and magistracies were established at Swellendam in 1745, and at Graaf Reinet in 1784. In 1788 the boundary of the colony was extended to the Great Fish River. In 1795 the Cape was captured by the English, and with the exception of three years (1803-1806) has remained English ever since. At the date of its capture the whole white population of South Africa was probably under 10,000. During the Dutch period, notwithstanding the hard rule of the East India Company, something had been done to develop the colony. The vine was introduced at an early date, and has been cultivated ever since; cattle and sheep rearing was encouraged, experiments were made with various cultures, and wheat was successfully grown and even exported. Occasional expeditions were sent into the interior. One expedition, which sailed round to Natal in 1705-1706, found

an Englishman established there with two wives and a family. He said he was the only survivor of a number of men who had been landed there with a view to establish a colony. It is generally believed that the Orange river was not crossed till the present century, but Mr. Theal, in his *History of South Africa*, tells us that in 1761-62 a large expedition crossed the river and penetrated into Namaqualand as far as 26° 18′ south. By this time cattle-runs had been extended to Olifant's river, and the Copper mountains of little Namaqualand were visited by Europeans as far back as 1685. Again, in 1791-92, another expedition crossed the Orange river, this time in the belief that gold was to be found in the country beyond; but nothing came of it except some information concerning the Damaras. A year later (1793) an expedition by sea took possession of Possession Island, Angra Pequeña, Walfish Bay, and other places, in the name of the Company, a fact of some interest in connection with recent events. Still, when the Colony was taken over by England, it can hardly be said that effective possession extended more than 200 miles from the south coast, while the total annual revenue was only £30,000,—a sum quite insufficient to cover the expenditure.

The slave-trade.

Let us for a moment turn to the slave-trade. There seems little doubt that the African Company, which was dissolved in 1750, was ruined by the famous "Assiento" contract with Spain of 1713; the conditions on which the Company was permitted to export slaves from Africa to the Spanish American colonies were such that one wonders how it ever consented to the treaty. Still

the trade went on. Macpherson, in his *History of Commerce*, calculates that in 1748 the number of Africans shipped to America and the West Indies by all nations amounted to 97,000; the number of Africans in America at that date was probably considerably over a million. It would be difficult to estimate the number of Africans deported from the Continent from the time of the first European connection with it; but during the eighteenth century alone it was probably not less than six millions. Moreover, the old trade from Central Africa to the Mediterranean, Egypt, and Asia, which had been carried on from time immemorial, was still continued. Take it all in all, the profit from the slave-trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was equal to that arising from gold, ivory, gum, and all other products combined.

The Portuguese in East Africa.

In the eighteenth century the power of the Portuguese in East Africa rapidly declined, and that of the Arabs, under new auspices, rose on its ruins. As early as 1584 there had been an insurrection all along the coast against the Portuguese (by this time under the domination of Spain) promoted by Ali Bey, who suddenly appeared in these waters and claimed the sovereignty for the Turkish sultan. Many of the towns on the coast fell into his hands. The rebellion, however, was of brief duration; Ali Bey was captured, and most of the cities (except Magdoshu) retaken. The Portuguese seem to have been assisted by the Wasimbu, one of those warrior tribes that have at all times kept Central Africa in terror; but the Portuguese dominion in Africa was doomed. Portugal, to quote Krapf, "ruled

the East Africans with a rod of iron, and her pride and cruelty had their reward in the bitter hatred of the natives. In East Africa the Portuguese have left nothing behind them but ruined fortresses, palaces, and ecclesiastical buildings. Nowhere is there to be seen a single trace of any real improvement effected by them." Sef bin Sultan, the Imaum of Oman, at the request of the people of Mombasa, sent a fleet to East Africa and captured Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Kilwa, and laid siege to Mozambique in 1698. After this Portuguese power in East Africa was shaken, for although they reoccupied the coast fort of Mombasa, which they held up to 1730, there was from this time practically an end to their sovereignty between Cape Guardafui and Cape Delgado. After this the Imaum of Muscat held a nominal sovereignty over the East Coast of Africa; Mombasa was the centre of the government, the rulership becoming to some extent hereditary. In the end, as will be seen, this led to the supremacy of the Imaums of Oman over the East Coast from Magdoshu to Cape Delgado, and to the establishment of Zanzibar as an independent state in 1861.

Thus by the beginning of the eighteenth century the power of Portugal in East Africa was at the lowest possible ebb; she had only a precarious footing at one of the ports on the coast; and her main trade was the export of slaves. She had even abandoned Delagoa Bay, and the Dutch from the Cape had built a fort and a factory there, which, however, were destroyed by the English in 1727.

Fifty years later it is curious to find that even

Austria dreamed of acquiring African possessions. In the hope of securing the trade to the east to the Austrian dominions in Flanders, Tuscany, and the Adriatic, Maria Theresa granted a charter in 1775 to William Bolts, an Englishman who had been in the service of the British East India Company. Bolts gathered together a somewhat disreputable band of emigrants from various Mediterranean countries, and sailed from Leghorn in 1776. He proceeded to Delagoa Bay, and made terms with the chiefs on both sides of the river, who declared they were independent of the Portuguese and of every other power. The Austrian flag was raised, forts were built, various buildings erected, and a considerable trade with India began. Bolts, who seems to have had some practical sense, sent a Mohammedan priest from India to convert the natives, to whom he thought Islamism was better adapted than Christianity. The settlement, however, only lasted three years. The Europeans died off rapidly, and the Portuguese, awaking to what they regarded as their rights, addressed representations and protests to the Austrian Government. And so ended the only attempt on the part of Austria to share in the partition of Africa.

An Austrian Settlement.

Towards the end of the century public opinion in England was rapidly taking up a strong position against the slave-trade. From the first there had been here and there a voice lifted up against this traffic. It was in 1772 that Granville Sharp succeeded in getting the famous judicial decision, that as soon as any slave set his foot upon English territory he was free, and could not be taken back to be a slave. In 1787

Feeling against the slave-trade.

Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others formed themselves into an association to secure the abolition of the slave-trade. In 1788 a Bill was passed in the British Parliament to regulate it. At this time the annual export of slaves from Africa amounted to 200,000. Half of them were exported from the west coast to America and the West Indies; the other half partly from the east coast to Persia and the East Indies, and partly from the interior to Egypt and the Mediterranean states. Denmark had the honour to be the first European state to prohibit its subjects (1792) from engaging in the slave-trade. In 1807 the slave-trade was declared illegal for all British subjects. In the same year the United States passed a law forbidding the importation of slaves into the Union. Between 1807 and 1815 most of the other great powers assumed the same position as England, and by 1815 the slave-trade was chiefly carried on under the flags of Spain and Portugal. In that year, at the Congress of Vienna, a declaration was signed by the Powers that the trade was repugnant to humanity, and that its abolition was highly desirable.

During the long Napoleonic wars the possessions of England, France, and Holland on the west coast frequently changed hands; but except in the case of Egypt, the struggle for colonial possessions did not greatly affect Africa. Let us now see how the partition of the Continent stood in the memorable year 1815.

# CHAPTER VII

## THE POSITION IN 1815

The struggle between France and England.—The Colonies and the Mother Country—Imperialism and Federation—Europe's share in Africa in 1815—Portugal in West Africa—Portuguese claims in the interim—Cape Colony—Portugal on the East Coast—Central Africa.

PROFESSOR SEELEY, in his *Expansion of England*, has shown with convincing clearness that the great aim of Napoleon in his prolonged struggle with this country was to secure supremacy beyond the seas. He well knew that such supremacy would give to France the political and commercial leadership of the world. Happily for the world at large, Napoleon failed, so that when he was finally crushed in 1815 Britain remained supreme at home and abroad. With the exception of some patches in India, the deadly colony of Cayenne in South America, a few West India Islands, and the islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon off Newfoundland, the only foreign possessions remaining to France when the struggle was ended were the islands of Réunion and Ste. Marie in the neighbourhood of Madagascar, and the colony of Senegal on the west coast of Africa. England remained mistress of nearly all the lands of the globe most available for European

The struggle between France and England.

settlement—Canada, Australia, the Cape. She was supreme in India, her influence was paramount in Egypt, she retained some of the best of the West India Islands, she possessed patches on the west coast of Africa, while the British flag was planted on the islands of every ocean.

**The Colonies and the Mother Country.**

At the beginning of this new era in the history of the world the old conception of the relation of the colonies to the Mother Country still to a large extent prevailed. Notwithstanding the lesson taught by the United States, the colonies were still regarded as the private property of the Imperial Government, to be exploited for its benefit, with but little regard to the interests of the colonists. But as the great colonies were filled up by immigration and natural increase, as their resources were developed and their commerce expanded, as new generations grew up, inheriting the ancestral love of independence, the old relations between the Empire at home and the Empire beyond the seas inevitably became modified. The maternal government was naturally reluctant to recognise the new relation between herself and her grown-up children, but she wisely yielded, if only inch by inch, and, as it were, grudgingly. The true imperialistic idea was indeed of slow growth; the conception of the British Empire as one great whole, as an organism more or less homogeneous, which must have room for development and expansion, is barely more than eight years old.

This is not the place for a discussion of the subject of Imperialism and Federation, of the relations which

AFRICA
IN 1815.
From Smiths New Map of Africa
Comprising the most recent researches
London published 6 Jan. 1815
Scale of English Miles.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
SAHARA OR GREAT DESERT
ZAHARA OR THE DESERT
SOUDAN OR NIGRITIA
ABYSSINIA
ETHIOPIA
ALGIER
TRIPOLI
LIBYA
EGYPT
NUBIA
SENNAAR
FEZZAN
TAURICK
BORNOO
CONGO
ZANGUEBAR
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
Mountains of Kong
Mountains of the Moon
Gulf of Aden
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Somauli
Canary Islands
Madeira Isles
Ascension I.
St Helena I.
Cape of Good Hope
Cape Verd
Cape Blanco
Cape Bojador
Straits of Gibraltar
Cape Spartel
Cape Bona
Cape Carthage
Cape Negro
Cape Farina
Cape Rosetta
Cape Aboukir
Cape Guardafui
Cape Delgado
Cape Corrientes
Cape Negro
Cape Lopez
Cape Formosa
Cape Lopez
Cape Negro
Cape Frio
Cape Cabo Frio
Cape St Mary
Cape Town
Table Mt
Table B
Simons B
Hottentots Holland
Saldanha B
Dassen I
Robben I
Cape Agulhas
Algoa B
Port Elizabeth
Great Fish R
Great Kei R
Buffalo R
Natal
Port Natal
Delagoa B
Inhambane
Sofala
Mozambique
Quilimane
Mosambique I
Zanzibar I
Pemba I
Mombaza
Melinda
Brava
Magadoxo
Barbora
Berbera
Zeila
Suakem
Massowah
Dahlak Is
Mocha
Aden
Babelmandel Str
Bab el Mandel Str
Red Sea
Gulf of Aden
Gulf of Arabia
Gulf of Persia
Gulf of Guinea
Bight of Benin
Bight of Biafra
Bight of Bonny
Bight of Benguela
Bight of Angola
Bight of Mozambique
Bight of Delagoa
Bight of Sofala
Bight of Zanzibar
Bight of Melinda
Bight of Magadoxo
Bight of Barbora
Bight of Berbera
Bight of Zeila
Bight of Suakem
Bight of Massowah
Bight of Dahlak Is
Bight of Mocha
Bight of Aden
Bight of Babelmandel Str
Bight of Bab el Mandel Str
Bight of Red Sea
Bight of Gulf of Aden
Bight of Gulf of Arabia
Bight of Gulf of Persia
Bight of Gulf of Guinea
Bight of Bight of Benin
Bight of Bight of Biafra
Bight of Bight of Bonny
Bight of Bight of Benguela
Bight of Bight of Angola
Bight of Bight of Mozambique
Bight of Bight of Delagoa
Bight of Bight of Sofala
Bight of Bight of Zanzibar
Bight of Bight of Melinda
Bight of Bight of Magadoxo
Bight of Bight of Barbora
Bight of Bight of Berbera
Bight of Bight of Zeila
Bight of Bight of Suakem
Bight of Bight of Massowah
Bight of Bight of Dahlak Is
Bight of Bight of Mocha
Bight of Bight of Aden
Bight of Bight of Babelmandel Str
Bight of Bight of Bab el Mandel Str
Bight of Bight of Red Sea
Bight of Bight of Gulf of Aden
Bight of Bight of Gulf of Arabia
Bight of Bight of Gulf of Persia
Bight of Bight of Gulf of Guinea
Bight of Bight of Bight of Benin
Bight of Bight of Bight of Biafra
Bight of Bight of Bight of Bonny
Bight of Bight of Bight of Benguela
Bight of Bight of Bight of Angola
Bight of Bight of Bight of Mozambique
Bight of Bight of Bight of Delagoa
Bight of Bight of Bight of Sofala
Bight of Bight of Bight of Zanzibar
Bight of Bight of Bight of Melinda
Bight of Bight of Bight of Magadoxo
Bight of Bight of Bight of Barbora
Bight of Bight of Bight of Berbera
Bight of Bight of Bight of Zeila
Bight of Bight of Bight of Suakem
Bight of Bight of Bight of Massowah
Bight of Bight of Bight of Dahlak Is
Bight of Bight of Bight of Mocha
Bight of Bight of Bight of Aden
Bight of Bight of Bight of Babelmandel Str
Bight of Bight of Bight of Bab el Mandel Str
Bight of Bight of Bight of Red Sea
Bight of Bight of Bight of Gulf of Aden
Bight of Bight of Bight of Gulf of Arabia
Bight of Bight of Bight of Gulf of Persia
Bight of Bight of Bight of Gulf of Guinea

should exist between the various members of the Empire; but it is necessary to realise clearly the views which were entertained on this point when the European powers may be said to have started afresh seventy-seven years ago, when England had practically "all the world before her where to choose" had she realised it to be her interest to expand the bounds of her empire. But she did not. In India, indeed, we were compelled to extend our power more and more over the peninsula; but India is not a colony; it is now, as it has been since we first set foot in it, a profitable estate. In South Africa, also, the safety of the colony, as it stood when we took it over from the Dutch, compelled us at intervals to push the limits outwards; but the Kaffir wars were always entered on with reluctance, and elsewhere we shrank from expansion. It is easy for us, in the light of recent events, to call this shortsighted policy, just as the unreflecting condemn the intolerance of past centuries, and the horrors of the torture-chamber. Our statesmen, with but rare exceptions, are only average men, forced by circumstances into positions of prominence, and this was even more true half a century ago than it now is. It was not to be expected that they should see far ahead of their time, or do more than try to conduct affairs quietly along existing lines. It is only pressure from without that can move them to look round and look forwards; and, until Germany came into the field eight years ago, that pressure was hardly ever strong enough to produce discomfort or to lead to action. Moreover, it is only within comparatively recent years that the need

Imperialism and Federation.

for new markets has been severely felt; only within the memory of most of us have America, Australia, India, and the East become glutted, has commercial rivalry among the great states become intensified, and the necessity for securing new fields for industrial enterprise been irresistibly forced upon us. The only continent that remained available for extended operations was Africa, and on Africa a rush has been made without precedent in the history of the world. Let us endeavour to recall the position of the various European powers on the African continent when the world was left to begin a long period of peaceful expansion seventy-seven years ago.

**Europe's share in Africa in 1815.**

Turkey was the only European power which had a footing in North Africa; she was nominally the suzerain of Egypt, Tunis, and Tripoli, but her power was even then on the wane. Algeria with her corsairs was still the terror of the Mediterranean traders; Morocco was then, as she is now, independent but tottering. To the Saharan "Hinterland" of these Mediterranean states no power laid claim. The Central Sudan was powerful and independent, occupied by semi-civilised Mohammedan fanatics. Indeed, the whole of the Niger region was divided up into somewhat small states among which Mohammedanism was rapidly spreading. Mungo Park had perished on the river he longed to explore, while René Caillié had not yet visited Timbuktu. France was left in possession of the west coast from Cape Blanco to the mouth of the Gambia, but, except for a short distance along the Senegal, her power extended but a little way inland.

Portugal had then, as she has now, the Cape Verd Islands and a patch on the coast to the south of the Casamansa. England retained her old station on the Gambia; her Sierra Leone possession was but a patch; our stations on the Gold Coast were suffering from the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807, while the colony of Lagos was not founded till long after. Denmark and Holland and Portugal had still several forts along the coast, though the Brandenburg settlement had long ago been abandoned. Liberia was not founded till five years after the date with which we are concerned. The course of the Niger was unknown; trading stations or factories, mainly British, were dotted here and there on the Oil Rivers, the Cameroons, and the Congo estuary, while the whole coast was the haunt of slavers of every nationality. Spain had Fernando Po, and Portugal one of the smaller islands to the south, but the whole coast down to the Congo was virtually no-man's-land, ready to be annexed by any nation in search of colonies. Portugal, indeed, claimed that her great West Africa possessions began at 5° south, to the north of the Congo, and this claim was for a moment conceded by England in 1885, though Portuguese writers admitted there had never been effectual occupation.

Portugal in West Africa.

At the mouth of the Congo itself there were a few stations—Portuguese, French, English, Dutch; but these were mainly for slave-trading purposes, though the slave-trade was declared illegal in 1807, and was made piracy in 1817. The Portuguese claims were never admitted, by Great Britain at least, except for a

moment in 1885 as already stated, to extend beyond Ambrizette, well to the south of the Congo; of this there is abundant evidence in the voluminous Blue Book correspondence which exists on the subject. It was only at the date of the Berlin Act, 1885, that a concession of the strip between Ambrizette and the Congo was finally made to Portugal. From Ambrizette to Cape Frio, in 18° south, no one denied the claims of Portugal; indeed, European indifference to Central Africa at this period was almost absolute, and continued to be so, except from the geographical standpoint, until within the past few years. Had Portugal then claimed jurisdiction over the whole of Africa lying between her east and her west coast possessions, it is doubtful if any European Power would have troubled about it any more than if she had claimed jurisdiction over the North Pole. As a matter of fact, no evidence exists that any such claim was ever made till within the last few years. No doubt one or two isolated expeditions were sent into the interior, and half-castes and natives with Portuguese names and titles may even have crossed between Angola and Mozambique; but neither legitimate trade nor knowledge of the country was promoted by such excursions, and only despair would treat them as an evidence of effective occupation. This effective occupation was really confined to a few points on the coast. There were doubtless here and there isolated stations in the interior belonging to half-castes, but the great bulk of the extensive area now conceded to Portugal was untouched; the old kingdom of Congo had been abandoned long before. The immense stretch

**Portuguese claims in the interim.**

of coast between Cape Frio and Buffels River was seventy-five years ago unclaimed; although, as we have seen, Walfish Bay and Angra Pequeña were occupied by the Dutch Cape colonists in the previous century. The Cape Colony, only finally made over to England in 1815, though it had been occupied continuously since 1806, did not extend beyond Buffels River on the west, and its limit northward was confined within an irregular line drawn from Buffels River south-east to the Great Fish River. All beyond this, all the region where now are Cape farmers—the Orange Free State, Transvaal, Natal—was as unknown and as untamed as the wildest parts of Matabeleland and the country of the Barotse. The total area of Cape Colony was only 120,000 square miles, and the total population 61,000, of whom 15,000 were in Cape Town, two-thirds slaves—Negroes and Malays,—the latter introduced at an early period by the Dutch. Elephants and other big game were still accessible within a few miles from the coast, beyond which few settlers were to be found. The first British settlement on the Natal coast was not made for some years after this; and it was not until twenty years later that the first Dutch trek was begun, which culminated in the founding of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. England objected to the Boers settling in Natal, but her statesmen and her colonists at the Cape did not see far enough ahead to extend her claims beyond the Orange River.

Cape Colony.

At Delagoa Bay we once more come upon ground claimed by Portugal, whose territory stretched as far north as Cape Delgado, though the precise limits north

Portugal on the East Coast.

and south remained to be settled at a later period. At this date, 1815, and for many years after, no serious claim of dominion was advanced by the Portuguese beyond a strip of the coast, varying in width, and along the river Zambesi as far as Zumbo; Portuguese writers themselves admit that effective occupation did not extend beyond the precincts of their coast towns and their stations. Expeditions had been sent into the interior as far as Cazembé's town; but these were not expeditions of conquest. It is admitted, as we have seen, that at an early period Portuguese adventurers did make their way for some distance into the interior from Sofala and from Tete, as far, probably, as Manica; that there were dealings with the chief, whom we know under the name of Monomotapa; and that attempts were made to work the gold of the interior. But if the so-called treaty of Monomotapa is admitted to have been genuine, and if we further admit that his territory was as extensive as the ignorance of the time made it to be, it is clear that long before 1815 effective occupation away from the strip of coast and the river had been abandoned, if it ever existed, and that new tribes and new chiefs had taken the place of those with whom the Portuguese came first into contact. This, however, is a subject that will come up for discussion more appropriately at a later stage. The Portuguese themselves in 1815 did not claim more than the strips referred to. Considerably more than a hundred years before Portugal was compelled to abandon all her conquests to the north of Cape Delgado; the whole coast from thence to Magadoshu, if not farther north, was under the sway of the

Imaums of Muscat, who had gradually extended their influence between 1698 and 1807, partly by conquest from the Portuguese, and partly from native chiefs. France had been toying with Madagascar for 170 years, and had actually established a small colony at Fort Dauphin on the south-east coast in the seventeenth century; but in 1815 the island was practically independent. Mauritius had been made over to England, while France retained Bourbon (Réunion). The interior of the Continent was, broadly speaking, unknown, and was regarded as of no interest, save in the eyes of the geographer. The Somali and Galla countries were in practically undisputed possession of native tribes. Neither England, France, nor Italy seems to have dreamed of possessions on the Red Sea. Abyssinia was uncoveted, and Egypt had not yet cut her off from the coast. Not for five years after 1815 did Egypt begin to stretch her malign hand southwards over Nubia and the Sudan; the Upper Nile was unknown, Khartum had not been founded; Kordofan, Darfur, and their neighbours were still independent, though an Englishman (Browne) had explored them some years before; the great lakes only existed on the half-mythical maps of Ptolemy and the mediæval geographers. Central Africa.

Thus, then, three-quarters of a century ago, when Europe was at liberty to start on that career of progress in all directions, which has had undreamed-of results, her African possessions consisted of only a few factories and stations and towns on the coasts; effective occupation hardly existed beyond the seaboard; the heart of Africa was an unknown blank; the serious occupation

of the Continent as a whole, as America and Australia were being occupied, was probably unthought of. Germany, in the modern sense, did not exist; Holland was satisfied with her great colonies of culture; France had hardly bethought herself of fresh colonial expansion; England had quite enough occupation for the energies of her surplus population, and for her commercial adventurers, in Canada, Australia, India, and the East. Africa she valued mainly as affording stations to guard her route to her great Asiatic empire. For sixty years Africa was left in comparative peace except for the explorers.

The total value of the commerce of the African Continent in 1815 (including slaves) probably did not exceed £30,000,000 sterling. The total exports could hardly have been more than £15,000,000, more than half coming from Egypt and the countries on the Mediterranean.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## SIXTY YEARS OF PREPARATION

Activity after 1815—French conquests: Algeria—Senegambia—Gambia and Sierra Leone—Liberia—The Gold Coast—Lagos—The Niger—The Cameroons and the Cape—South Africa—Livingstone's work—The Zanzibar region—Opening up of Central Africa—Early German aspirations—British influence at Zanzibar—The Red Sea—Egyptian conquests—The Suez Canal—Position in 1875.

Activity after 1815.

ALTHOUGH during the sixty years after 1815 the most important annexation made in Africa by a European power was that of Algeria by France, work was being quietly done which has led to important results within the past few years. During the latter part of the period especially we were enabled, through the exertions of adventurous explorers, to form some idea of the character of the African interior. Even before the Conquest of Algeria in 1830, Caillié had reached Timbuktu, and other explorers — Denham, Clapperton, Laing, and other Englishmen—had crossed the desert, or entered from the west coast, and made known the Lake Chad region, the Niger, and the Central Sudan states. It was in this region and in Abyssinia and the Upper Nile countries that the greatest exploring activity was manifested until Livingstone began his wanderings. Tuckey's failure to ascend the Congo

farther than the first rapids left that great river to sweep its broad way unutilised across the Continent for another sixty years. Even if he had succeeded in revealing its magnificent upper course, it is doubtful if the time had come for Europe to scramble for its control. It can hardly be said that the interesting discoveries made in North Africa and the Niger region up to 1860 had much effect in arousing the covetousness of Europe.

**French conquests: Algeria.**

The French Conquest of Algeria, begun in 1830 and completed only after long years of sanguinary struggle, was a benefit to the civilised world, and probably no other Power envied France the possession of that haunt of corsairs and home of Moslem fanaticism. The truth is that France, for many years, was more eager than any other European Power for dominion in Africa. She was, indeed, the only Power that sought to rival England in the creation of a colonial empire; she has striven hard to make up by annexations elsewhere for all that she lost to England through the wars of last and the beginning of the present century. Unfortunately for her, there remained nothing to be annexed that could be compared to the territories she had lost. Neither in Asia nor the Pacific has she been able to find anything that can be put in comparison with India and Australia, where early in the century she endeavoured to forestall us. Algeria as a colony of settlement can never rival Canada, nor even, except perhaps for southern Europeans, British South Africa. It has a desert for its "Hinterland." Algeria has, no doubt, prospered greatly under French rule, though it will be long ere France is

able to recoup herself for the outlay of the £150,000,000 sterling which its conquest has cost her. But the resources of the country are being developed; agriculture is spreading; by means of irrigation the cultivable area is being extended far into the desert, and in time a line of oases may run from Algeria to the bend of the Niger. The idea of connecting by railway Algeria with the French possessions in Senegambia is not a new one. In 1880 and 1881 the unfortunate Flatters expedition was sent out to survey a railway route between the two territories. The scheme is again under consideration, and, no doubt, another attempt will be made to accomplish it.

While France was consolidating her position in Algeria, she was steadily extending her influence in the Senegambian interior. So long as fifty years ago she made attempts to open communications between Senegambia and Algeria, but without success. The Senegambians, like the Cape colonists, were continually on their defence against the natives of the interior, who, under their Mohammedan leaders, such as El-Haj Omar, did their best to drive the French into the sea. But there could be little doubt of the ultimate result. When Colonel (afterwards General) Faidherbe retired from his long governorship of the colony in 1865, the French occupation extended to the Upper Senegal; French influence was recognised by treaty from Cape Blanco to British Gambia; the coast region from St. Louis to the British frontier, and even at Casamansa on the south, and for a considerable distance into the interior, had been brought under subjection; an administration had

Senegambia.

been established; and attempts had been made to introduce the cultivation of cotton, indigo, and other products, not, however, with much success. In the whole interior of the Senegambian region, France, during these fifty years, had entire command of the situation, England not conceiving that her interests demanded interference on her part. Yet she could, had she yielded to the solicitations of native chiefs, have extended her influence over the whole of the Upper Niger. Indeed, in 1865 a strong committee of the House of Commons came unanimously to the resolution "that all further extension of territory or assumption of government, or new treaty offering any protection to native tribes, would be inexpedient." Though not rigorously adhered to, the policy has, in the main, been carried out with respect to the prominent African colonies ever since, thus leaving France a free hand to extend her possessions between the Senegal and the Gulf of Guinea. The exclusive right retained by England in the Treaty of 1783 to trade for grain with the Arabs of Portendic, on the coast between the Senegal and Cape Blanco, was exchanged in 1857 for the French factory at Albreda on the north bank of the Gambia.

**Gambia and Sierra Leone.**

Till 1816 Gambia had been all but abandoned, owing to the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807. A few British merchants from Senegal then settled on the island of St. Mary at the mouth of the river. From 1821 to 1843 it was subject to the Government of Sierra Leone; then after twenty-three years of independence it became in 1866 part of the government of the West African settlements. During the whole

period of French activity on both sides of the Gambia no attempt was made to extend British influence in any direction, and by the latest Anglo-French arrangement that influence is practically restricted to the banks of the river. A little more activity was shown in Sierra Leone, which acquired various islands and tracts of country by treaty before 1865, though no attempt was made to push British influence into the interior or along the coast towards Portuguese Guinea. Portuguese Guinea remained virtually as it had been from the time when Portugal was freed from Spanish domination; its precise limits have only quite recently been defined.

Liberia.

In 1820 the Washington Colonisation Society made the first settlement of freed negroes at Cape Mesurado, and so laid the foundation of the republic of Liberia, recognised by the European powers as an independent state in 1847. The republic extended its domain along the coast to the borders of Sierra Leone, and south-east to the negro settlement of Maryland, which was absorbed in 1857; while it pushed its influence for an indefinite distance into the interior.

The Gold Coast.

Meantime the British settlements on the Gold Coast had a very chequered career; now they were under Government jurisdiction, and again they were abandoned to the merchants. Troubles with Ashanti complicated matters, while the Dutch and Danish settlements hampered trade operations. Happily, in 1850, Denmark made over her settlements at Accra, Fort Quetta, Nongo, and Adda to England for £10,000. By a convention which came into force

in 1868, the Dutch were confined to the west of the Sweet river, their extensive possessions of the previous century having now dwindled down to Dixcove, Apollonia, Secondee, and Commenda, with a protectorate over the two Wassaws, Denkera, and the country of Apollonia. In 1871 Holland transferred all her rights on the Gold Coast to Great Britain. – Although France claims to have acquired portions of the coast (Grand Bassam and Assinie) to the west of the British Colony in 1838 and 1842, and a station on the east, Porto Novo, in 1868, these were really unoccupied till 1884, and at any time up to within the past few years there would have been no obstacle to declaring the whole of the coast from the Liberian boundary to the Gaboon under British protection. Had this been done it would have prevented much of the international bitterness of late years.

Lagos. In 1861 Lagos was acquired by England from the native king; since which time the colony has been extended east and west, until now it stretches from the Benin river to the Denham Waters at Kotonu. It is interesting to note that in the seventeenth century the French attempted to effect a settlement at the mouth

The Niger. of the Niger (at that date of course not known to be connected with the great river), but nothing came of it. Meantime British trade continued to be developed along the rivers which may be regarded as constituting the Niger delta, though some of the streams or creeks are independent of that river. British traders have been settled on the Oil Rivers for a century, at first mainly for the purpose of carrying on the slave-trade.

British missionaries have been at work in the Calabar region for more than half a century, and over a long stretch of coast British influence was actually, if not nominally, supreme; but no active steps seem to have been even thought of to secure the whole region from any risk of foreign interference, which until quite recently could easily have been done. The period, however, between 1815 and 1875 was marked by extensive exploring enterprise in the Niger region—enterprise mainly conducted by British subjects or at British cost. Lander had traced the river from Bussa to its mouth. Expedition after expedition, with which the names of Allen, Baikie, Laird, and others are connected, at a fearful expenditure of suffering and life endeavoured to explore the great river and its tributary the Benué, and establish British influence and British trade. Baikie founded a station at Lokoja, at the confluence of the two rivers; model farms were established elsewhere, and efforts made to suppress the slave-trade. The great expedition of Barth from the north, under British auspices, contributed a wealth of information on the whole Niger region. Sixty years ago the far-sighted and shrewd geographer M'Queen urged in the strongest terms the duty of England to establish herself in the Niger region and create a great "Central African Empire." But the "craven fear of being great," the dread of extending Imperial responsibilities, still possessed those charged with the interests of the Empire, as indeed it did till only eight years ago. After much expenditure of life and money the Niger was virtually abandoned—given

over to the unsupported enterprise of private traders. All the time France was steadily pursuing her way inland to the great river.

The Cameroons and the Cape.

An English mission station was founded at Victoria, on the Cameroons coast, in 1858, and British traders virtually dominated the coast. In 1842 France established herself on the fine estuary of the Gaboon, and twenty years after took possession of the Ogové. It was not, however, till fifteen years later that, under the leadership of Savorgnan de Brazza, French dominion was extended into the interior, and the foundations were laid for the immense acquisitions of France between the coast and the Congo in 1884. The coast down to the Cape boundary remained much as it was in 1815. Private trading firms of various nationalities had stations at the mouth of the Congo and along the coast to the north, but no one had the curiosity to seek to discover what lay beyond Tuckey's farthest point at Yellala Falls. Portugal was undisturbed in her West African possessions, whose resources she did little or nothing to develop. Her traders had stations in the interior, from which caravans went to and from the coast, mainly for slaves and ivory. To Portugal ought naturally to have fallen the exploration of the Congo, but such enterprise as that had long been beyond the range of her energies. Missionaries, explorers, and traders had ventured into Damaraland and Namaqualand. Although a number of islands off Angra Pequeña were declared British in 1867, and Walfish Bay in 1878, the latter was not actually annexed to the Cape till 1884.

Meanwhile, Cape Colony itself had its hands full of trouble. War after war with the Kaffirs kept up for years a feeling of insecurity, and compelled the Cape to push its boundaries farther and farther north. Kaffraria was annexed in 1865; in 1871 Basutoland came under British rule. A constitution was established in 1853, and responsible government in 1872. Meanwhile, by opening up the country by roads and railways, and encouraging immigration, the colony steadily developed. The Orange River had been reached; the Orange Free State and the Transvaal had been founded and recognised, the former in 1854 and the latter in 1852; Natal had been created an independent colony in 1856; and, though patches of native territory still here and there awaited formal annexation, by 1875 all the country up to the Orange River and the Orange Free State was virtually under British influence, though the extension of this influence was carried on slowly and with reluctance on the part of the Home Government. Beyond Natal there remained the Zululand gap between the British and Portuguese spheres, the latter undergoing little or no change during the long interval. Movements were taking place among the native tribes both to the north and the south of the Zambesi; thirty years before 1875 the Matabele had crossed the Limpopo and established themselves by force in the country of the Mashonas and kindred tribes. In 1823 Captain Owen, while carrying out his surveys on the east coast, obtained from native chiefs a cession of Delagoa Bay, which was, moreover, claimed for England in virtue of

South Africa.

the Dutch settlement there in 1820. England went so far as to found a station named Bombay opposite Lourenço Marquez, and there were continual disputes for possession between her and Portugal up to 1875, the Transvaal also putting in a claim for a patch of coast. At last the rival claims were referred for arbitration to the President of the French Republic, Marshal MacMahon, who decided in favour of Portugal, even going to the extreme of giving Portugal more territory than she had claimed in her statement. The chief ground of Portugal's claim was the shadowy "Treaty of Monomotapa," which had lapsed long before. The present town of Lourenço Marquez was only founded in 1867 on the site of an old village of the same name.

Livingstone's work.

But a new era for the Continent had begun. Livingstone had entered Africa, and had initiated those explorations which opened up the heart of the Continent, and led to that scramble which is now all but completed. Before his death in 1873 he had been to Lake Ngami, had completed that journey across the Continent which revealed the course of the Zambesi, gave us the first authentic information as to the character of the country watered by it and its tributaries, and carried the British name and British influence into regions which only the other day have become appanages of the Imperial Crown. Others had followed in Livingstone's footsteps —Galton and Andersson in Damaraland, Baines in the same region and east to Matabeleland (whose riches he was the first to discover) and the Zambesi; while others —missionaries, explorers, hunters, and traders—were

penetrating into every corner of the country to the south of the Zambesi. Livingstone himself had concluded his great Zambesi expedition in 1863, which, disastrous as it was in some respects, opened up a new country to the world (for new it was despite all that the Portuguese claim to have done), and led to the foundation of those trading and missionary stations in Nyassaland, which were destined to form the basis of British influence in one of the finest regions of Central Africa. In 1865 Livingstone began his final wanderings, which led him through the heart of Africa to Tanganyika and the Lualaba, which he would fain have followed to its outflow at the sea; but he was destined instead (1873) to die on the swampy shores of Bangweolo, one of the mysterious river's great lake-feeders. Meantime Stanley had already entered the threshold of that Continent (January 1871), which he was, directly or indirectly, destined within the next few years to transform.

The Zanzibar region.

In the Zanzibar coast region, which, since the beginning of the seventeenth century, had been nominally at least under the Imaums of Muscat, there were constant attempts of the local sultans to establish their independence; and on the change of dynasty in Oman, which took place on the accession of the Al bin Saidi to power, several of the lieutenant-governors on the coast refused to accept allegiance. The Imaum Said Said, however, had made himself master of Patta, Brava, Lamu, Zanzibar, Pemba, and Kilwa, and threatened to attack Mombasa, where the aged Soliman Ben Ali, as representing the governor under the older rulers of Oman, was in power. Soliman appealed

to Captain Owen, whose squadron was then surveying the coast, and he, in 1824, took under the protection of Great Britain Mombasa and its dependency, Pemba, and all the coast between Melinde and Pangani; Brava also was placed under our protection, and many advantageous concessions were made to the British. But, alas! Captain Owen had been long before his time; in 1826 the British Government peremptorily declined the concession, and all the region was abandoned to its fate for another sixty years. This was towards the end of the Earl of Liverpool's long administration; troubles were brewing at home, and at that remote date it was no doubt difficult to see what benefit the acquisition of a long stretch of East African coast could be to Great Britain.

The struggles of Mombasa with Muscat were renewed, but the latter in the end prevailed, so that when, in 1861, Seyyid Majid was confirmed by Lord Canning in the territories of Zanzibar, the Sultan's rule extended over the whole coast and the islands from Cape Delgado to Magdoshu. Moreover, the Sultan's influence, if not jurisdiction, had extended far into the interior, and his orders were obeyed even on Lake Tanganyika. But before Livingstone set eyes on that lake great things had been done in this section of Central Africa; discoveries had been made which changed the whole aspect of the interior, and led to further enterprises, which culminated in the scramble of the last few years. The Arabs, returning from these journeys in the interior, had told of great lakes which they themselves had navigated. In 1848 Rebmann caught sight of the

**Opening up of Central Africa.**

snows of Kilimanjaro. Ten years later Burton and Speke went into the interior to find those great lakes, already known to the Arabs, and they were able to place Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza on our maps. Speke, who first saw the latter, had thus discovered the great source of the Nile, and, with his companion Grant a year or two later, he was able to add still further to our knowledge of Egypt's historical river, and to tell us of the great kingdom of Uganda and its ruler Mtesa, who subsequently played so important a part in unwittingly promoting British interests. In 1864 Baker discovered the Albert Nyanza, and made further additions to our knowledge of a region which is now virtually within the British sphere. Burton and Speke found stations far in the interior, founded by Arabs, through whose enterprise the slave-trade had reached gigantic dimensions.

**Early German aspirations.**

While to British explorers is due the credit of the bulk of the important work done in Central Africa up to 1875, it must not be forgotten that travellers of other nationalities contributed their share to the opening up of the Continent to knowledge and enterprise. One of the most prominent names connected with the exploration of East Africa is that of Von der Decken. Between 1860 and 1865 he undertook extensive explorations in the Kilimanjaro region, and visited several parts of the coast between Cape Delgado and the river Juba. While exploring this river he lost his life, but not before he had conceived the idea of a German occupation of these districts of Africa. From the Juba river on 14th August 1864, he

writes: "I am persuaded that in a short time a colony established here would be most successful, and after two or three years would be self-supporting. It would become of special importance after the opening of the Suez Canal. It is unfortunate that we Germans allow such opportunities of acquiring colonies to slip, especially at a time when it would be of importance to the navy." As a German writer has said, had it not been for Von der Decken's death, Germany might have had colonies twenty years sooner than she did. Two years later Otto Kersten, one of Von der Decken's companions, published an article on the Colonisation of East Africa, in which he wrote: "Von der Decken on many occasions said that he would not hesitate, if Seyyid Majid agreed to it, to buy Mombasa from the Sultan in order to found an establishment and place the commerce of the interior in the hands of Europeans, and especially of Germans. After two or three years' stay at Chagga, on the eastern shore of Victoria Nyanza, the colonists would obtain more results than emigrants who wander far across the seas. I recommend to my country an enterprise as advantageous as it is glorious for individuals and for the nation." Though Von der Decken held exaggerated views as to the value of this part of Africa for colonising purposes, happily for British interests Germany was at the time too much occupied with her position in Europe to be able to take steps to improve her position beyond the seas. But these two utterances are noteworthy as being probably the first hint that Germany might in the future enter the field as a colonising power in Africa.

At the time that Von der Decken wrote, and for twenty years after, British influence was supreme at Zanzibar; the succession of able British representatives at the court of the Sultan were virtually political residents, and guided the Sultan's policy as really as do similar functionaries at the feudatory courts of India. Sir John Kirk, who was connected with Zanzibar from 1866 to 1887, was undoubtedly more powerful than the Sultan himself; and fifteen years ago, and indeed down to 1884, British supremacy at Zanzibar was deemed almost as indispensable to British interests in India and in East Africa as is the possession of Aden itself. At any moment our position in Zanzibar and over the whole of East Africa could have been placed beyond challenge, and indeed was so, but the Government of the time never had the courage to take advantage of the position; though perhaps it was as much lack of time as lack of courage that must be charged against our overburdened foreign ministers. British Indian merchants were settled all along the coast from Cape Delgado to Mombasa, and all but a fraction of the trade was in their hands.

British influence at Zanzibar.

Proceeding northwards, we find but little alteration in the position between 1815 and 1875. Massawa had been occupied by the Turks early in the seventeenth century, and from that date the whole of the Red Sea coast may be regarded as Egyptian, Abyssinia's attempts to obtain a port always ending in failure. Early in the century France began to seek for a footing on the Red Sea. The port of Ait to the north of the Straits of Babelmandeb was purchased by a French

The Red Sea

merchant in 1835 in the hope of attracting the trade of Abyssinia. Various other attempts were made to obtain a footing near Massawa, and to intrigue against Abyssinia, with no permanent result, except at Obock on Tajurah Bay, opposite Aden, which was bought in 1862, but not effectively occupied till 1883. Italy had not yet appeared on the Red Sea. Egypt had taken possession of Berbera and aimed at extending her influence through Harrar to Shoa, but happily her purpose was defeated. Abyssinia was much as it had been, notwithstanding the attempts of France in the first half of this century, its invasion by a British army, and its troubles with Egypt. This latter power, whose connection with Turkey had become more and more slender, had by 1875 pushed her way southwards along the Nile, and had virtually annexed Kordofan and Darfur, and the whole of the country up to the Albert Nyanza. Gordon was already in her service, and Emin Pasha joined him in the year following.

Egyptian conquests.

The Suez Canal.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 is a notable event in the partition of Africa. As a new highway to India it greatly enhanced the value of Egypt, and led to a more intense rivalry than before between England and France for paramount influence in that country. Moreover, it greatly increased the strategical value not only of Aden, but of the ports on the opposite coast of Africa, and of the island of Socotra, which was taken under the wing of England in 1876, though it was looked upon as under British influence long before that. The greater island of Madagascar, farther south, continued to receive attentions from France at intervals

Madagascar.

during the whole of the period under notice. The various attempts at establishing a footing on the main island failed, though the island of Ste. Marie on the east coast was reoccupied in 1819, Nossibé on the west coast taken possession of in 1840, and Mayotte in 1841.

Position in 1875.

Thus, then, the progress of partition among the European powers had been comparatively slow and insignificant during the sixty years that had elapsed since 1815. Germany as a colonising power had not yet set foot upon the Continent. Great Britain had certainly pushed her influence and jurisdiction northwards from the Cape as it stood in 1815, but it was reluctantly and slowly. Her west coast colonies were mere patches. True, her influence was felt extensively in the Niger region and in the Zanzibar dominions, but it was unofficial and unsecured by treaties. Her supremacy in Egypt had been more and more marked. France was the only power that showed any eagerness for steady annexation and any foresight as to future contingencies. In short, the great struggle had not yet begun; but it was imminent. Stanley's memorable journey across the Continent, and especially his discovery of the great Congo waterway, may be regarded as the initiatory episode.

# CHAPTER IX

## PRELIMINARIES TO PARTITION

The slave-trade—Interest in exploration—Stanley's influence—Germany—The King of the Belgians' ambitions—The Brussels Conference of 1876—The International African Association—National Committees—Expeditions to East Africa—Karema founded—The work of National Committees—A new phase—Stanley's return—Missions in Central Africa—Stanley and the King of the Belgians—The Congo Committee: its object—Mr. Stanley returns to the Congo—Annexation in the air—Aims of the Congo Committee—A purely Belgian enterprise—International Congo Association—Crude ideas of a Congo State—The King's aims—Stanley on the Congo—Stanley's progress—Proposed creation of a Congo State—Stanley completes his work.

The slave-trade.

FROM about 1850 the interest in Africa grew more and more intense, and more and more widespread. Even after that date cargoes of slaves were shipped from the west coast to America, but as a result of the American Civil War and the increased activity of British anti-slavery cruisers, the horrors of the Transatlantic traffic in humanity were at last put an end to. The traffic may have lingered in the Portuguese parts of Angola, for there were still Brazil and Cuba to be supplied, and when, many years before, all other civilised nations agreed to suppress the traffic, Portugal begged for, and obtained, the insertion of a clause excepting her African ports from the operation of the treaty.

But if there were those who flattered themselves that the African slave-trade was dead, they were soon undeceived. Livingstone, and other travellers and missionaries, opened our eyes to the fact that the Transatlantic slave-trade was really only a very small portion of the evil which haunted the Dark Continent. The whole of Africa between the tropics was a hunting-ground for the so-called Arabs, who had for long past been making their way from the north and from the coast on the east. When Livingstone reached the heart of the Continent at Nyangwé he found their malign influence everywhere present, and his soul was harrowed by their cruelties. The various stages in the spread of Islam in Africa, and the continual growth of the traffic in slaves and ivory carried on by the Arabs and half-breeds from the east, is a subject of vast interest. Formerly these Arabs were content to remain on the coast and purchase from the natives what the latter brought down; but owing to various causes they themselves, in recent years, have led or sent their own caravans into the interior, with what results every reader of Livingstone and Stanley knows. Great regions have been devastated, and whole towns, and even tribes, almost exterminated for the sake of the ivory which they possessed. For every slave brought to the coast to be shipped across to Arabia or Madagascar, or sent north to Morocco, Tripoli, and Egypt by caravan route, probably half a dozen natives had been slaughtered. As this sad feature in the life of Central Africa became more and more keenly recognised, the philanthropists of the world combined

to suppress it, and in this way the interest in Central Africa was intensified.

Interest in exploration.

Another considerable section of civilised mankind became fascinated with the discoveries which were gradually revealing to us the wonderful character of a continent whose rim only was mapped in the school-days of many now living. Rebmann and Krapf; Burton, Speke, and Grant; Baker, Schweinfurth, and Nachtigal; Livingstone above all, besides many men of minor note, had aroused an interest in Africa unparalleled in the annals of geography even in the days when Arctic exploration was at its height. Stanley's story of how he found Livingstone served to intensify this interest, keen and widespread as it was, while Livingstone's death turned African exploration into a kind of holy crusade. Missionary effort was greatly increased and strengthened, especially in East Africa, as far inland as Lake Nyassa, with which the name of Livingstone is so intimately associated. Thus it might be said that when Stanley started on his memorable journey across the Dark Continent in 1875, the whole civilised world had an interest in the results of his expedition. Letter after letter from the great explorer, and telegram after telegram from the heart of Africa, as to the fate of the expedition, served to fan this interest and kindle it into a world-wide enthusiasm.

Stanley's influence.

To the work accomplished by Stanley more than to that of any other explorer it is due that this somewhat abstract enthusiasm for Africa was, in the space of a comparatively few years, precipitated into action on

the part of the States of Europe. But that action did not come for some time, even after Stanley had emerged from the Congo. He had hardly got well into the Continent ere there was action of a kind, but that action did not result in annexation; this came soon enough, and when it did come, it came with a rush. There is little need here to recount the story of an expedition in many respects among the most remarkable which ever entered Africa. Stanley himself is a man of action, and will carry out his purpose at all hazards; he is no mere abstract geographer or general philanthropist. As with all great men of action, his deeds beget deeds on the part of others. No man knows better than he how to nerve his fellow-men to action. His letters from Uganda, describing with dramatic realism his long interviews with the clever if somewhat artful Mtesa, roused Christendom to enthusiasm. At once an army of missionaries, English and French, was sent out to take possession, in the name of their Master, of one of the most powerful kingdoms in Central Africa. This may indeed be said to have been the first tangible result of Stanley's journey—a result which was not without its influence in the final scramble.

Germany.

Stanley was still in the heart of Africa when a movement was initiated, which may be regarded as the beginning of the ultimate partition of the Continent among the Powers of Europe. All eyes, as we have seen, were turned to Africa, even before Stanley had started to complete the work of Livingstone. The colonial aspirations of Germany were being awakened.

She was still flushed with the fruits of her great victory over France. She was now an united empire, bent on achieving what Germans would call world-greatness. New energy had been infused into her commercial life. Her merchants were on the lookout for fresh fields; their eyes were eagerly turned to the East and to Africa. But at present the only action was that taken by private adventurers; Bismarck had more important matters demanding his energies. It remained for another potentate to inaugurate a movement which, within fifteen years, was to make Africa little more than a political appendage to Europe. When Stanley's first letter came home, Leopold, King of the Belgians, was in his prime. He was just forty years old, and had been on the throne of Belgium for ten years. The King was then as he is now, a man of restless energy, ambitious of distinction for himself and his little kingdom, greatly interested in the promotion of commerce and the arts, and with a special love for geography. The field for his energies as the sovereign of a small, neutral, and comparatively poor kingdom was limited. He had no great army, no great fleet, no ever-recurring political complications to engage his attention outside his own domain. It was natural that a man of his energies and ambitions should wish for a sphere of more cosmopolitan action than he could find within his own borders, or even in Europe. Possibly also he desired that as his kingdom could not, by any chance, be great politically, it might at least expand commercially; if it could not stretch its limits in Europe, there

**The King of the Belgians' ambitions.**

was a whole continent, almost unoccupied and untouched, in which he and his people might find abundant room for their surplus energies. There is no need to attempt to fathom all the motives of the King of the Belgians in summoning to Brussels on the 12th September 1876 a select Conference to discuss the question of the exploration and the civilisation of Africa, and the means of opening up the interior of the Continent to the commerce, industry, and scientific enterprise of the civilised world. But in summoning the Conference the King indicated his desire that it should consider what measures might be adopted to extinguish the terrible scourge of slavery, which, though put a stop to on the west coast, was known still to continue its desolating influence over wide and populous tracts in the interior of the Continent.

The Brussels Conference of 1876.

It is difficult to forget all that has happened during the sixteen years that have passed since this memorable, this epoch-making, meeting in Brussels. Have we any warrant in concluding that the King of the Belgians had at first in view the ultimate creation of a great African empire, of which he himself would be the head, and which might place Belgium on a level with Holland as a colonising power? It is hard to say; probably His Majesty had not formulated to himself any very precise scheme. It must be remembered that in September 1876 Stanley was on his march from Lake Tanganyika to Nyangwé, and that as yet he had not looked upon the wide Lualaba, which he was destined to trace down to the Atlantic as the Congo. The King of the Belgians, when he convened

the meeting of geographers and philanthropists, knew no more about the Lualaba and its ultimate destination than did any one else who took an interest in Africa; and, indeed, his attention was not directed to West Africa at all, but to the east coast and to East Central Africa. The King had probably no more idea of what would be the ultimate outcome of the meeting than had any one else who took part in it. The object he professedly had in view he had a right to conceive was a noble one. In the initiation and direction of an organisation for opening up the long-neglected Continent to science, industry, and civilisation, there seemed ample scope for his energies and philanthropic aspirations, and for that craving for distinction which kings share with ordinary mortals. If we may judge by subsequent events, underlying these philanthropic aspirations were motives of a somewhat grosser nature, but natural enough in the breasts of kings. It must be admitted that had His Majesty's design been carried out as he planned it, we should have learned more about the heart of Africa in a few years than had been done during the four centuries that have elapsed since the Portuguese began to creep down and around its coasts. But human nature and national jealousies were, as might have been expected, too strong for combined and disinterested international action and for the philanthropical aims put forward by the King.

At the Brussels meeting of 12th September 1876, which, as has been said, may be regarded as the initiation of the partition of Africa, the nationalities represented were Great Britain, Belgium, Austria-

Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia. England was well represented by Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Rutherford Alcock, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Admiral Sir Leopold Heath, Sir (then Mr.) William Mackinnon, Sir Fowell Buxton, Sir John Kennaway, Colonel J. A. Grant, and Commander Cameron. Sir Harry Verney also took some part in the Conference.[1] These national representatives consisted of the presidents of the various Geographical Societies, African explorers, and others interested in the Continent; they were in no sense delegates from their governments. The King of the Belgians himself was really acting in his private capacity, and in no way as involving any responsibility on the part of his kingdom. The Conference sat for three days, and as a result of their deliberations it was agreed that an International Commission, or International African Association, having its seat at Brussels, should be founded for the exploration and civilisation of Central Africa, and that each nation willing to co-operate should form National Committees to collect subscriptions for the common object, and send delegates to the Commission.

**The International African Association.**

The international character of the movement was

[1] The other nations were represented as follows:—For Austria-Hungary—Baron von Hofmann, Count Edward Zichy, Fer. von Hochstetter, Lieutenant Lux. For Belgium—Baron Lambermont, M. Banning, M. Emile de Borchgrave, M. Couvreur, M. le Comte Gobler d'Alviella, M. James, M. de Laveleye, M. Quairier, M. Sainetelette, M. Smalderl, M. Van Biervliet, M. Leon Vander Bossche, M. Jean Van Volxem. For France—Admiral le Baron de la Roncière de Noury, M. Henri Duveyrier, the Marquis de Compiègne, M. d'Abbadie, M. Maunoir. For Germany—Baron von Richthofen, Dr. Nachtigal, Dr. Schweinfurth, Herr Gerhard Rohlfs. For Italy—the Chevalier Cristoforo Negri. For Russia—M. Semenof.

not long maintained. In England the subject was discussed at the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, to which body naturally fell the task of organising the National Committee in this country. Difficulties of an obvious kind were foreseen, which rendered it desirable that such a Committee, while maintaining friendly relations of correspondence with the Belgian and other Committees, should not trammel itself with engagements of an international nature, or with objects other than those of geography. No delegates were therefore appointed to the International Commission at Brussels. Instead, the African Exploration Fund of the Royal Geographical Society was established in March 1877; and with the public subscriptions obtained the expedition under Mr. Keith Johnston was sent out, an expedition which, after the death of its able leader, was taken command of by his young colleague, Mr. Joseph Thomson, whose brilliant career as an explorer has fully borne out the promise of this early triumph, and has made his name famous in the annals of African travel.

**National Committees.**

National Committees as branches of the International Association were formed in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Spain, Portugal, France, Netherlands, Italy, Russia, Switzerland, and the United States, as well as in Belgium. At the meeting of the Central Committee held in Brussels on 20th and 21st June 1877 it was found that the Belgian Committee had already subscribed 287,000 francs, besides 44,000 francs annual contribution. By June 1879 Belgium's contribution had exceeded 600,000 francs, while small contributions

had been sent by the German, Austrian, Hungarian, Dutch, and Swiss Committees. No time was lost in beginning operations. By 1877 the first expedition was under way, the object being to establish between the east coast and Lake Tanganyika a series of stations for the purpose of helping explorers and spreading civilisation. From the beginning, misfortune followed the footsteps of this and subsequent expeditions. The Belgian officers chosen as leaders were totally unacquainted with the conditions of life in tropical Africa, and it is to be feared were almost entirely ignorant of the geography of the Continent, even so far as it was known. Into the details of these international expeditions from the east coast it is not necessary to enter. The first which left Zanzibar in 1878 set out with a train of ox-waggons, but had to return shortly after it started, owing to the death of the oxen from the tsetse fly. One or two intermediate stations of a temporary kind were subsequently established in the interior, but the first permanent station was only founded in 1880 by Captain Cambier at Karema, on the south-east shore of Lake Tanganyika. It was in connection with this station that experiments were made, at the expense of the King of the Belgians, with Indian elephants. These, unfortunately, it was found impossible to acclimatise; they all died. Notwithstanding the great sacrifice of human life and the enormous expenditure of money, these attempts at founding oases of civilisation in Central Africa were failures so far as the objects of the Association were concerned. Karema was really the only station that

Expeditions to East Africa.

Karema founded.

survived, and explorers have on more than one occasion obtained succour there. The results to exploration have been almost *nil*, and it is a matter of regret that the intentions of the royal founder of the Association were so sadly marred by ignorance and inefficiency. The solitary station of the Association in East Central Africa, Karema, being now within the German sphere, has been made over to the German authorities in East Africa.

**The work of National Committees.**

The truth is that, so far as the exploration of Africa goes, much more was done by the National Committees than by the International Commission. This is also true of the opening up of the Continent to commerce and civilisation, so that the National Committees, rather than the International Commission, must be credited with having brought about that scramble among the European powers which, in a very brief period, resulted in the partition of Africa. To the work of the English African Committee, independently of the Association, reference has already been made. Their work was purely a work of exploration. The French and Italian National Committees seem to have contributed little or nothing to the central funds; they too were of opinion that they could best carry out the work which the King of the Belgians had in view by sending out expeditions of their own to those parts of Africa in which they were most interested—Italy in the Abyssinian and Shoan regions, and France in the regions to which her Gaboon colony gave access. Even the Swiss Committee reserved a portion of their funds for specific Swiss undertakings, while the only

other Committee that seems to have done any real work was that of Germany.

But the Association soon ceased to be really international. While meagre subscriptions may, for a short time, have come in from individuals and societies, the International African Association was to all intents and purposes the King of the Belgians, without whose ample private means it would have collapsed long before M. Cambier reached Karema. To the work of the leading National Committees reference will again be made further on.

A new phase.

Meantime the International Association entered upon an entirely new phase, a phase which made it even more Belgian in character, and which undoubtedly did much to precipitate the partition of the Continent.

Stanley's return.

Stanley landed at Marseilles in January 1878 from that journey across the Dark Continent, during which he had traced down to the sea its greatest river, and so rendered his name immortal. Even before he had emerged from Africa, as we have seen, his stirring letters had roused Europe to action. Contingent after contingent of missionaries was sent out, Protestant and Catholic, and stations were being established not only in Uganda, but along the route to Tanganyika. On Tanganyika itself mission stations of both creeds were planted. One of the most notable of these missionary expeditions was that of the Abbé Debaize, who was sent out by the French Government with a subsidy of 100,000 francs, wherewith he bought among other things a barrel organ with which to charm the suspicious savages among whom his course would lie.

Missions in Central Africa.

The poor Abbé was unfortunate, and had to abandon his barrel organ; he took refuge at last with Captain Hore, the representative of the London Missionary Society on Lake Tanganyika, and in the captain's house he died. That the Abbé had more in view than the conversion of the heathen, there can be little doubt; the French Government is not given to subsidising missionaries from a purely religious point of view. As it was, his mission was without other result than the establishment of a Roman Catholic station on the lake, where the missionaries seem to be doing good work among the natives. But from our standpoint the main result of Stanley's great expedition in East Africa was the increase of British mission stations, and the spread of British influence at Zanzibar and in the interior, where, every traveller testified, the Sultan was regarded as paramount.

**Stanley and the King of the Belgians.**

It was, however, on the other side of the Continent that Stanley's journey produced the most immediate results so far as the partition of Africa is concerned. No sooner, he tells us, had he stepped out of the train at Marseilles than he was accosted by commissioners from the King of the Belgians, who was naturally intensely interested in the great waterway into the heart of the Continent which Mr. Stanley had revealed. It was not, however, until June that Mr. Stanley was able to visit His Majesty, and not until November did the farther extension of the King's great purpose take definite shape. On the 25th of that month Mr. Stanley met the King and several representative gentlemen of various countries, presumably members of the Inter-

national African Association. At the decisive meeting of the 2nd of January 1879 there were present representatives of Belgium, Holland, England, France, and America; at this meeting the final plans were adopted, and the necessary sums voted. At the November meeting it had been resolved that a fund should be subscribed, the subscribers to the fund forming themselves into a "Comité des Études du Haut Congo,"— a Committee for the Investigation of the Upper Congo, What the original purpose of this Committee was may be learned from Mr. Stanley's own brief account of the meeting: "After a few minutes it transpired that the object of the meeting was to consider the best way of promoting the very modest enterprise of studying what might be made of the Congo river and its basin. This body of gentlemen desired to know how much of the Congo river was actually navigable by light-draught vessels? What protection could friendly native chiefs give to commercial enterprises? Were the tribes along the Congo sufficiently intelligent to understand that it would be better for their interests to maintain a friendly intercourse with the whites than to restrict it? What tributes, taxes, or imposts, if any, would be levied by the native chiefs for right-of-way through their country? What was the character of the produce which the natives would be able to exchange for European fabrics? Provided that in future a railway would be created to Stanley Pool from some point on the Lower Congo, to what amount could this produce be furnished? Some of the above questions were answerable even then, others were not.

The Congo Committee.

Its object.

It was, therefore, resolved that a fund should be subscribed to equip an expedition to obtain accurate information, the subscribers to the fund assuming the name and title of 'Comité des Études du Haut Congo.' A portion of the capital, amounting to £20,000, was there and then subscribed for immediate use." The Committee was certainly at first regarded as a special Committee of the International African Association, whose flag—a white star on a blue ground—it adopted. But while there were no Englishmen in the International Association, two well-known Englishmen, both of them connected with Africa, formed part of the Committee, and, we believe, subscribed to it. The King was President of both, and both Associations had the same Secretary, Colonel Strauch. It is not clear that this special Committee, possibly not even the Royal President, realised what their real aims were; probably the Committee, as a whole, thought something good was sure to come out of an expedition of which Mr. Stanley was leader.

Mr. Stanley returns to the Congo.

It was publicly announced that the Belgian steamer *Barga*, taking out three undecked steam-launches, one other steamer, three flat-bottomed boats, a number of galvanised-tin houses, and a great quantity of other material, was really intended to send aid up the Congo to the Belgian expeditions from the east coast. Mr. Stanley himself went first to Zanzibar, and his connection with the expedition was kept a secret as far as possible. While Mr. Stanley was at Zanzibar, collecting a force of natives there, the agents of a Dutch house on the Lower Congo were busy collecting Kroo-

boys as porters. But all this was done as quietly as possible. The truth is, annexation was in the air. The French, under De Brazza, had already been pushing inwards from the Gaboon, while the Portuguese were excited by Mr. Stanley's great discovery to advance claims to the Congo, founded upon what they maintained was old conquest and possession. Moreover, that the aims of the so-called International Association had developed, that something more than the mere foundation of civilising and exploring stations was intended, seems evident from a letter written to Mr. Stanley by the Secretary, Colonel Strauch, while the leader of the novel expedition was yet on his way out to the river. It may be said in passing that, while at Zanzibar in May 1879, Mr. Stanley wrote much-needed letters of advice and direction to Captains Cambier and Popelin, the leaders of the first two International East Coast Expeditions, then on their way to the interior. These men evidently required instruction in the very elements of African travel, though Mr. Stanley's very clear and explicit advice did not save the expeditions from practical failure. The cost of these East Central African failures must have been enormous; the bulk of it came out of the King's own pocket.

Annexation in the air.

Mr. Stanley admits that from the outset the Congo Committee had separate and distinct objects in view from the International Association, "with the ultimate intention of embarking on a grander enterprise if the reports from the Congo region were favourable." As originally constituted, the Committee included several

Aims of the Congo Committee.

merchants of various nationalities, or at least had received considerable subscriptions from various mercantile firms, who no doubt hoped to profit by the enterprise which Mr. Stanley was to lead. But even before Mr. Stanley reached the Congo, it was resolved by the Committee to "return every subscription to the merchants of all nationalities who had previously expressed by their various subscriptions their sympathy with the project." Thus the new Congo undertaking was gradually becoming an almost purely Belgian enterprise. There remained connected with it only those who managed the affairs of the International African Association; and later on, Mr. Stanley tells us, the Committee, "having satisfied itself that progress and stability were secured, assumed the title of 'Association Internationale du Congo,' which, be it remembered," he continues, "was originally started with the philanthropic motive of opening up the Congo basin, and of exploring and developing, according to the extent of its means, the resources of the country around each station as soon as it was founded." We presume that the "grander enterprise" referred to above went even beyond this admirable scheme—a scheme, the success of which would depend almost entirely upon the leader, and certainly, to a considerable extent, on the calibre of the men who served under him.

A purely Belgian enterprise.

International Congo Association.

That the King, the moving spirit, the life and soul of all this stupendous enterprise, whatever may have been his original motives, had now something more in view than the mere promotion of geographical knowledge and the development of Africa's resources, seems

evident from the letter of his Secretary, Colonel Strauch, just alluded to. It may be that Stanley's discovery of the great waterway had opened up to His Majesty vistas of dominion not dreamed of when he called the Brussels meeting of 1876. We have not that letter itself, but extracts from it occur in Mr. Stanley's reply, in which the experienced explorer, in mild and courtly language, informed the Colonel that he did not know what he was writing about. After one or two impracticable suggestions, the Colonel writes: "It would be wise to extend the influence of the stations over the chiefs and tribes dwelling near them, of whom a republican confederation of free negroes might be formed, such confederation to be independent, except that the King, to whom its conception and formation was due, reserved the right to appoint the President, who should reside in Europe." "You say also" (Mr. Stanley writes) "'that a confederation thus formed might grant concessions (with power to make good what they granted) to societies for the construction of works of public utility, or perhaps might be able to raise loans like Liberia and Sarawak, and construct their own public works.'" To this Mr. Stanley replies by endeavouring to make the Colonel realise what manner of people really occupied the Congo. Only absolute ignorance of Central Africa could have permitted any man of intelligence to suggest the foundation of a republic like Liberia. "This project," he says further on, "is not to create a Belgian colony, but to establish a powerful negro state." Had Colonel Strauch read Mr. Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent*

Crude ideas of a Congo State.

with attention, surely he would have realised the complete impracticability of his proposal. But this is only a sample of the ignorance which still, it is to be feared, prevails in many quarters as to the real conditions of Central Africa, and the true character of its inhabitants.

The King's aims.

At the same time, it indicates that the King, if not the Committee, had aims of high ambition; that he cherished the hope of founding a great African state, of which he should be the sovereign, in reality if not in name. The ambition was perfectly legitimate, and originated in motives, so far as we know them, creditable to King Leopold. From our present point of view, this enterprise of 1879, under Mr. Stanley's leadership, was the first overt step towards the European partition of Africa on a large scale.

Stanley on the Congo.

"On the 12th of August 1877," Mr. Stanley writes, "I arrived at Banana Point after crossing Africa, and descending its greatest river. On the 14th August 1879 I arrived before the mouth of this river to ascend it, with the novel mission of sowing along its banks civilised settlements, to peacefully conquer and subdue it, to remould it in harmony with modern ideas into National States, within whose limits the European merchant shall go hand in hand with the dark African trader, and justice and law and order shall prevail, and murder and lawlessness and the cruel barter of slaves shall be overcome." Alas!

It is right to set the highest aims before us; the higher is likely to be our accomplishment. The laudable objects which the King of the Belgians and his loyal lieutenant, Mr. Stanley, professed to have had in

view may, we believe will, in time be accomplished probably after a fashion different from that which they expected and hoped for. Now that energetic men of the great nations of the world, and powerful and wealthy organisations have taken the task in hand, and that dark doings can no longer be concealed, we may be sure that in time the face of the Continent will be changed. But let us remember that Africa is very different from America and Australia, and that we cannot hope in a decade to rouse it from its long sleep of thousands of years.

Stanley's progress.

Mr. Stanley found the *Barga* waiting for him at Banana Point, and without loss of time the ascent of the river was begun. Evidently his staff—English, American, Danish, Belgian, French—were as ignorant of African conditions as Colonel Strauch; they had expected to be furnished with all the luxuries of British India, and to be treated with the deference due to imperial officers. It is to be feared that too many of the Congo officials have gone out with equally luxurious ideas, few of them certainly prepared to undergo the hardships absolutely required if they wished to promote their master's design. Such men as Stanley himself, as Joseph Thomson, as Stairs, Jephson, Parke, Nelson, and other Englishmen who could be named, are rare; but it is with the assistance of men of their calibre that the development of the Congo could be accomplished along the lines laid down by the King. Mr. Stanley, with his usual success in managing men, soothed the ruffled tempers of his staff, and after a few days' delay proceeded up the river to Boma, where, as at

Banana, he found the factories of English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese firms, who had been carrying on trade on the Lower Congo for over a century. Vivi, the limit of navigation on the lower river, was reached on the 26th of September, and preparations were at once made to establish the first station of the Congo Committee here; by the 24th of January 1880 it was finished, and Mr. Stanley was free to proceed up the river to select sites for other stations. Leopoldville was founded on Stanley Pool, treaties made with native chiefs, explorations of the southern tributaries made, and other work done, when Mr. Stanley returned to Europe to make the position clear to the Committee, and urge the construction of a railway from the lower river past the cataracts to the Pool.

**Proposed creation of a Congo State.**

By this time the "Comité des Études" had developed into the Committee of the "Association Internationale du Congo." Before Mr. Stanley had been long with the Committee he had convinced them not only that a railway was absolutely necessary, but that the final step in the evolution of the so-called International Association must be taken if success were to attend the King's enterprise on the Congo. Many treaties had been made with native chiefs, and many more would be made on his return. But it was now time that the Powers of Europe should be appealed to to acknowledge the work as valid, to recognise the Association not simply as a civilising and exploring company, but as a governing body. In short, it was seen that the time had come for constituting the Congo territory into a State with recognised status, of which the

Committee should be the governors, and their Royal President the sovereign. Mr. Stanley, whose health was shattered, had returned to Europe with the intention of staying, but he was persuaded to go back to the Congo and complete the work of organisation. This he did, and was once more at Vivi on the 20th of December 1882.

Stanley completes his work.

It is unnecessary here to tell the story of Mr. Stanley's many troubles—troubles mainly due to inefficient and discontented subordinates. Nor need we describe in detail the vast work he accomplished while on the Congo as its first organiser and administrator. Suffice it to say that, within a year after his second arrival at Vivi, he had established a series of stations along the river as far up as Stanley Falls (December 1883); had made hundreds of treaties with chiefs from Banana to the Falls; had been saddened with the sight of devastation over thousands of miles on the upper river by the Nyangwé Arabs, who had followed in his footsteps down the river; had been able to welcome and instruct his successor, Sir Francis de Winton; had shown by advice and example how the work of organisation and development ought to be carried on. All this, be it remembered, in five years after first setting foot in Vivi. Never was a state founded in so brief a period. But meanwhile other events were taking place, other African enterprises were rapidly developing, which, as if by magic, suddenly roused the Continent from its sleep of ages.

# CHAPTER X

## FRANCE AND PORTUGAL ON THE CONGO—VARIOUS FRENCH AND ENGLISH ENTERPRISES

M. De Brazza—De Brazza on the Congo—De Brazza and Stanley—A national scramble—Portugal interferes—Portugal's claim to the Congo—Negotiations with England—An Anglo-Portuguese Congo Treaty—The treaty abandoned—International Conference decided on—Bismarck's opinion of Portugal—The position on the Niger—German enterprise on the Niger—A Trans-Saharan railway—Tunis—Assab and Obock.

M. de Brazza.

WHILE Mr. Stanley was pushing his way up the Congo, and beginning the work which issued in the founding of the Congo Free State, events were taking place which threatened at one time to checkmate him, and render abortive the aims of the King of the Belgians. Count Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, Italian by birth and parentage, was born in 1852. He received his education in France, and entered the French naval service in 1870. In the years 1875-78 he, in company with M. Marche and Dr. Ballay, carried out a successful exploration of the Ogové river to the south of the Gaboon, in the hope that it would turn out to be a great waterway into the interior. This hope was disappointed, for after a certain distance the stream became broken by cataracts,

and rapidly declined in volume. De Brazza crossed over the hills at the head of the Ogové, and soon found that this formed the water-parting between that river and another which flowed in an easterly direction. This he found to be the Alima, and when he reached it, Stanley had but just arrived in Europe from his momentous voyage down the Congo. Had De Brazza followed the Alima he would also have found himself on the great river, far above its cataracts, and would almost surely have been tempted to see where the magnificent waterway led to. But at the time he had not heard of Stanley's great discovery, and as his health was shattered and his means exhausted, he returned to Europe with the reputation of a determined and successful explorer.

De Brazza on the Congo.

Like Stanley, De Brazza did not rest long in Europe. Fortunately Stanley had almost a year's start of his French rival; the former left Europe in January 1879, the latter in December of the same year. De Brazza by this time knew that the Alima and the Licona, which he also touched on his previous journey, must enter the Congo. As the agent then of the French Committee of the International African Association, and with funds provided by them, he went out to the Ogové to plant civilising stations. Indeed, it was announced at a meeting of the Paris Geographical Society before De Brazza started that his object was to explore the region between the Gaboon and Lake Chad. So it was given out, though there can be little doubt that De Brazza's aim from the first was to reach the Congo. That he lost no time in carrying it out is evident from the fact that on 7th November 1880 he,

on his way down the river, came upon Stanley pushing in the opposite direction. Stanley at the time knew little about De Brazza. The latter had founded an "international" station on the Ogové, and rapidly crossing over to the Lefini (the Luvu of Stanley), found no difficulty in following that river down to the broad bosom of the Congo. He seems to have been able to establish friendly relations with the chiefs and people around, and succeeded in discovering one chief who, according to De Brazza's own report, claimed to be suzerain of all the country around, even to the south bank of the Congo. Thereupon, on 1st October 1880, the representative of the International Association made a solemn treaty with the chief, whereby the latter placed himself under the protection of France, and accepted the French flag. De Brazza lost no time in crossing over to the south side of Stanley Pool, and there founded a station at Ntamo or Kintamo, close by where Leopoldville now stands, and which his admirers in France named after him Brazzaville. The station on the Ogové he himself named Franceville.

**De Brazza and Stanley.**

It will thus be seen that M. de Brazza had cast aside all pretence of carrying out the designs of the International Association; he was simply the emissary of France, doing his utmost to steal a march on Mr. Stanley, and secure the mastery of this magnificent trade-route into Africa for his adopted country. During his two days' stay with Mr. Stanley near Ndombi Mbongo, De Brazza seems to have said not a word about the annexations he had attempted to make on behalf of France. It was only when Mr.

Stanley reached Stanley Pool, and met the Senegalese sergeant whom De Brazza had left behind as the representative of France, that he learned what had been done. It is easy to imagine the vexation of the discoverer of the Congo and the agent of the King of the Belgians at his being outwitted in this fashion. But that did not prevent him from proceeding at once to found Leopoldville almost alongside of Brazzaville. Moreover, he discovered in making inquiries that the chief with whom De Brazza treated had no suzerainty except in his own tribe, and certainly not on the south side of the river. In a few months, indeed, the French station was removed to the opposite side of the Pool, the south side being left entirely to Mr. Stanley and the International Association.

Meantime De Brazza made his way down the river and back to the Gaboon, where he expected to find Dr. Ballay and a staff for the stations he had founded. But no such support was forthcoming; so that, exhausted as he was, De Brazza had once more to start for the interior, with mechanics, gardeners, and other equipment for his stations. Roads were made in other directions to the Alima, on which a station was established, and down which it was intended to take the expected steamer. After seeing everything in order, he started for the coast in the beginning of 1882, and partly explored the Kwilu-Niari river, on which meanwhile Mr. Stanley was purposing to establish a series of stations, and as a matter of fact did do so. This river, it was thought, would furnish an easy and rapid access to Stanley Pool, a short line of railway sufficing

to connect the two, and so the long series of cataracts would be overcome. De Brazza followed the river for some distance, when he had to make direct to the coast, owing to the hostility of the natives. He reached Paris in June 1882, just about three months before Mr. Stanley.

**A national scramble.**

So far as France was concerned, it was evident that by this time the international features of the enterprise, initiated by the King of the Belgians, were entirely abandoned; and so it was indeed in the case of all the nationalities which took any active part in the work. Indeed, the international character of the Association can hardly be said to have existed beyond the first Brussels meeting; it rapidly degenerated into a national scramble. The doings of Mr. Stanley and M. de Brazza on the Congo were clearly bringing African affairs to a crisis, and intensifying the political character of the expeditions which were now entering the Continent on all sides.

**Portugal interferes.**

While Stanley was pushing towards the upper river, making treaties and founding stations, and De Brazza and his companions were skipping about along the right bank, distributing flags and endeavouring to turn Stanley's flank, another power had entered the Congo field and threatened to paralyse the efforts both of France and of the King of the Belgians. Portugal had at last been aroused from her long sleep. She had sat for centuries within hail of this great river and had never manifested any curiosity to discover where it came from, or to what uses it might be put. It was only when more energetic Powers

stepped in to do the work she ought to have done long before that she interfered, not to help but to hinder.

Portugal's claim to the Congo.

It was the flittings hither and thither of M. de Brazza, and his indiscriminate distribution of tricolours, that rearoused the apprehensions of Portugal,—"rearoused," because the claim she insisted on bringing under the attention of the British Government through Senhor d'Antas, the Portuguese Minister in London in 1882, had been the subject of correspondence and negotiation since the beginning of the century. A Blue Book, covering ninety pages, full, as many Blue Books are, of interesting and even exciting incidents, published in 1883, is entirely occupied with correspondence concerning the claim of Portugal to the West African coast between 5° 12′ and 8° south latitude. "In the name of the Most Holy and undivided Trinity," in the years 1810, 1815, and 1817, Portugal solemnly agreed not to carry on the export of slaves on any part of the African coast outside her own territories. Her right to export slaves from her own territories to Brazil, Portugal jealously maintained, and this right was continually asserted, down even to the middle of the present century. And yet, in the face of this, Portugal had no hesitation in repeatedly reminding the Government of Great Britain that she was the first State in Europe to come forward and join with England in the suppression of the slave-trade. She may have deceived herself into this belief, and prided herself on her virtue in confining the traffic in her most lucrative export to her own coast-line, but surely

she could not hoodwink such shrewd men as Palmerston, Clarendon, and Aberdeen. It is not our purpose here to give a history of the slave-trade, otherwise these Blue Books would afford many thrilling incidents.

In all this long correspondence, extending down to 1877, Portugal never let an opportunity pass of claiming sovereignty over the West African coast from 5° 12′ to 8° south latitude. British vessels were constantly hovering about these coasts on the watch for slavers, and Portugal constantly protested against their presence. It even seemed at one time as if Great Britain would take possession of part of this coast, a procedure which, according to the voluminous correspondence on the subject, the native chiefs would have welcomed. Portugal was particularly jealous of any attempt to dispute her right to the territories of Molemba and Cabinda, lying immediately to the north of the Congo mouth—territories which figured among the titles of the Portuguese monarch, and which she maintained had been in her possession since 1484. But England never once admitted Portugal's claim to this stretch of coast. Her Angola territories were held to end on the north at Ambriz, well south of the mouth of the Congo; no effective possession could be proved anywhere to the north of this.

After 1877 there seems to have been a lull in the reiteration of these claims. About that time there had been some inhuman cruelties perpetrated by traders on the unfortunate natives around the factories on the lower river—cruelties which formed the subject of investigation on the part of the British Government.

Portugal was, her statesmen assured our representative at Lisbon, filled with horror and indignation at these cruelties, and begged that her right to the Lower Congo, and the coast north and south, might be recognised, in order that she might feel herself empowered to establish and maintain good government. Happily, British statesmen at the time were obdurate, and the matter seems to have remained in abeyance till 1882, when De Brazza's activity convinced the Portuguese Government that one more desperate effort must be made to obtain a hold over a coast-line the value of which had been greatly enhanced by Stanley's discovery. Orders had been issued to Her Majesty's cruisers in 1856 to prevent by force any attempt on the part of the Portuguese authorities "to extend the dominion of Portugal north of Ambriz," and in 1876 the late Lord Derby reminded the Duke of Saldanha that these orders were still in force. They continued in force down to 1882, when, in a long communication, dated 8th November of that year, the Portuguese Government approached Earl Granville, the Foreign Minister of that time, with a renewal of Portugal's claim to the coast between 5° 12′ and 8° south latitude.

Negotiations with England.

Lord Granville, unlike his predecessor, expressed without hesitation the willingness of Her Majesty's Government, not to consider the historic claims of Portugal over this coast, but to endeavour to come to some arrangement for mutual advantage to the African interests of both countries. It was pointed out, on behalf of Portugal, how desirable it would be

for a Power so well known to have the interests of civilisation at heart, to have jurisdiction, not only over the coast-line in question, but for an indefinite distance up the Congo. She would give pledges that only the most moderate tariffs would be imposed; that traders of all nations would have equal privileges with those of Portugal; that the navigation of the river would be absolutely free to all flags; and that every means would be taken to suppress slavery in every form. Lord Granville, with all his pliant urbanity and his apparent indifference to the extension of the empire, was astute enough to doubt the zeal of Portugal for the suppression of slavery, and to demand substantial concessions on behalf of the interests of British trade and British missions. He saw insuperable objections to permitting Portugal to claim the right of indefinite extension in the interior, for she more than hinted at her ambition to unite her East and West African colonies. More stringent stipulations as to tariffs were demanded; a definite limit to Portugal's claim to the Congo; respect for the interests of the Congo Association, and for the treaties which Britain had made with the chiefs on the coast. On the other side of Africa the free navigation of the Zambesi was insisted on; the limit of the claims of Portugal on the Shiré to be drawn at the Ruo; the recognition of the claims of Portugal in the interior only as far as she had effectively occupied stations. After much interchange of letters and draft treaties, and much casuistry on the part of Portugal, a "Congo Treaty" was at last agreed upon, and signed on the 26th of

**An Anglo-Portuguese Congo Treaty.**

February 1884, by which Great Britain acknowledged the claim of Portugal to the line of coast between 5° 12′ and 8° south latitude, with an interior limit at Nokki, on the south bank of the Congo, below Vivi. Other stipulations with reference to the Congo and Zambesi were agreed to, similar in character to those already mentioned. In the original draft Lord Granville proposed that the navigation of the Congo should be under an International Commission, but in deference to the resistance of Portugal this was finally changed to an Anglo-Portuguese Commission.

It must be stated in excuse for Lord Granville's apparently ready assent to an arrangement which seemed to make over the Congo to Portugal—and the statement is made on very high authority—that he was under the impression that the King of the Belgians, after organising an administration on the Congo, intended to make over all his claims to England, which would thus have command of the whole river above its mouth. On the same authority, there is reason to believe that Mr. Stanley himself was under this impression during all the time he was pushing the interests of the King on the river. Whether it was that the King had been misunderstood, or whether it was that in the end he changed his mind—for his scheme seems to have developed in magnitude in spite of himself,—we know that he stuck to his river. At all events, it is only right to refer to these conditions in justice to Lord Granville, on whose motives and action as Foreign Minister it has been the fashion to place the worst construction.

During the progress of the negotiations (in 1883), Portugal, feeling uneasy as to what might be the attitude of other powers, especially of France, approached the Government of the Republic, with a view to inducing it to recognise her claims in the same sense as the British Government proposed to do; but as France would not commit herself as to the mouth of the Congo, the negotiations were allowed to drop. Lord Granville, in a communication of the 7th of January 1884, declared that he abandoned the mixed Commission with the greatest reluctance. Had that been allowed to stand, there might possibly have been but little opposition to the treaty on the part of other Powers, and certainly the recent difficulties with Portugal in Zambesia and Nyassaland would have been avoided. As it was, what with Great Britain's and Portugal's absolute control over the mouth of the Congo, and France's designs on the Niari-Kwilu, the Congo Association, which was soon to become the Congo Free State, would be barred all access to the sea except through foreign territory. Lord Granville himself expressed doubts as to whether the other Powers would permit the treaty to stand; and his doubts were soon verified.

**The treaty abandoned.**

There was a universal protest from all the Powers of Europe, which was joined in by the English press, against allowing a retrograde power like Portugal, who had been in Africa for four centuries and had done nothing for its development, but much for its degradation, to have the virtual command of one of the finest rivers on the Continent. Prince

Bismarck appealed with success to France to join Germany in endeavouring to attain a solution of the difficulty, entering a protest at the same time at Lisbon and at London. The proposal for an International Conference came, however, in the first instance from Portugal, who could hardly expect to gain much by it. Meantime, even when the Conference was sitting in Berlin, she took possession of certain points to the north of the Congo, and stationed a squadron on the Congo itself. Lord Granville endeavoured to compromise matters by proposing to revert to the idea of an International Commission; but on the 26th of June 1884 he was compelled, under pressure of public opinion, to announce that he abandoned the Congo Treaty. An International Conference became inevitable, and the programme was virtually arranged between Germany and France—a programme accepted by England, and having in view, among other things, the foundation of a Free State on the Congo, without absolutely fixing its limits. The other Powers rapidly declared their adhesion, and the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 was agreed to.

International Conference decided on.

What was Prince Bismarck's estimate of Portugal as a colonial power he very clearly expressed in a communication through Count Munster to Earl Granville with reference to the Conference, dated 7th June 1884—

Bismarck's opinion of Portugal.

"We are not in a position to admit that the Portuguese or any other nation have a previous right there (on the Congo). We share the fear which, as Lord Granville admits, has been expressed by merchants of

all nations, that the action of Portuguese officials would be prejudicial to trade, and . . . we cannot take part in any scheme for handing over the administration, or even the direction, of these arrangements to Portuguese officials. Even the provision for limiting the dues to a maximum of ten per cent—the basis of the Mozambique tariff—would not be a sufficient protection against the disadvantages which the commercial world rightly anticipates would ensue from an extension of the Portuguese colonial system over territories which have hitherto been free."

The dread of the paralysing effect of Portuguese domination is evidently not confined to England.

Meantime, let us see the vantage-ground which was being taken up by the Powers elsewhere before the final scramble began.

The struggle for the great region watered by the Niger will be treated at length in a subsequent chapter. Here it may be useful to indicate the position just before the meeting of the Berlin Conference.

**The position on the Niger.**

It has already been pointed out how much England did for the exploration of the Niger and the development of its trade. In time traders of other nationalities were attracted to the river—French and German—while among the English firms there was no unity, each house trying to outbid the other for native products. This fierce competition was in the end detrimental to the interests of all concerned. It could not go on without producing disastrous results. At length this became so evident that it induced several of the more important English houses to form them-

selves into a United African Company, which, in a short time, was able to command most of the markets, and to regulate the prices of native commodities. But still there was trouble on the Niger, and cause for much anxiety as to the fate of British interests. The late Herr Flegel, who had been settled at Lagos for some time, as early as 1879 ascended the Niger with a view to discover its trading capacities. He had a keen eye to the interests of Germany, and did his best to induce German firms to extend their operations on the river, in the hope that in the end it might be taken over by the German Government. He made repeated journeys up the Niger and Benué, and did much for the exploration of the latter. In the end, as the emissary of the German Colonial Society, he rushed up the river with the intention of making treaties with the native chiefs; but happily the English Company, as will be seen, was able to forestall him, and the river was reserved for the British sphere.

German enterprise on the Niger.

The British Company naturally endeavoured to strengthen their hold and extend their operations on the river by, among other means, making treaties with the chiefs on its banks. It was only natural that the French should not look upon these operations on the part of the British with complacency. They had been steadily moving on to the Upper Niger; and in 1880-81 Colonel Gallieni advanced as far as Sego, where he succeeded in planting the French flag. Their ultimate goal was Timbuktu, and the aim of the French was to tap the Niger trade by connecting the upper river with the navigable part of the Senegal by means of a railway.

Meantime, elsewhere, France was doing her utmost to make this section of West Africa untenable for the British. The Gambia colony was closed in until it was almost confined to the river. Sierra Leone was shut out from the *Hinterland*, and latterly some attempts have been made to ruin the Gold Coast colonies and Lagos, happily so far with but partial success. Even so late as 1884 there were two French houses on the Niger, besides a number of small English houses. But the United African Company, by throwing its shares open to the public, greatly increased its capital and swept the French houses entirely out of the river. The Company succeeded in 1884 in getting the treaties it had made with all the chiefs from the mouth of the Niger to the Benué recognised by the British Government, and a protectorate proclaimed over that part of the river, though the upper river was still left insecure. The French, on the one side, were casting longing eyes from the vantage-ground they had gained on the Upper Niger, while the Germans had not abandoned the hope of securing a footing outside the British protectorate. Herr Flegel still haunted the river, while the French were carrying their conquests all along the Upper Niger, and over all the region between that and the coast, and were proposing to run gunboats to Timbuktu. It was inevitable that this fine waterway should come under the cognisance of any African Conference, though the actual crisis did not occur till after the Berlin Meeting. The Company had, when the Berlin Conference met, virtually no rivals on the lower river, except the merchants who

had their houses on the coast and the so-called Oil Rivers. These remained aloof from the United Company.

At the same time it must be said that German traders also had their stations on the coast, chiefly Hamburg houses, whose principal trade was in the vilest of spirits, with which they flooded the country. At the Berlin Conference they exercised a powerful influence on the attitude of Bismarck, and afforded the prince some excuse for the annexations upon which he entered in 1884.

A Trans-Saharan railway.

Two notable events in connection with French extension took place in 1881. France had long dreamed of establishing a route from her Senegambian provinces to her Mediterranean possession, Algeria. If she could succeed in constructing a railway across the Sahara, it would, in her estimation, draw down to the Mediterranean the whole of the trade of the Central Sudan, and so greatly discount the value of the Niger as a trade-route. In order to investigate the practicability of a railway, Colonel Flatters was sent out from Algeria in 1881 to survey a route; but he had not got far into the desert before he and his party were attacked and massacred by the fierce and independent Tuaregs. This unfortunate disaster gave the deathblow for the time to all Trans-Saharan railway schemes; though that such a railway will be attempted, and that soon, is in the highest degree probable. In the same year that the Flatters expedition came to so untimely an end, France obtained some compensation in the annexation of Tunis, on which she had long cast

Tunis.

covetous eyes. It is unnecessary to enter upon the details of this annexation, or to insist on the frivolous excuse on which Tunis was attacked. France had made up her mind that Tunis was necessary for her expansion in North Africa, and she took it, with the tacit consent of the other European powers, whose approval she considered it advisable to obtain. In this way at one swoop she added 45,000 square miles to her African empire. Italy, who had also developed colonial aspirations, would have treated Tripoli as France did Tunis, but the Powers disapproved, and she had to be content with only a small beginning at the Bay of Assab, on the Red Sea coast, opposite Aden, which she took over in 1880 from a private shipping firm that had had a station there since 1865. In this way she became a near neighbour to the French territory at Obock, on the Bay of Tajurah, which, however, was not actually occupied till 1883, though it had been nominally a French possession since 1862.

**Assab and Obock.**

# CHAPTER XI

## BRITISH ADVANCES IN THE SOUTH AND EAST

South Africa—Bechuanaland—Damaraland—South African Confederation—Matabeleland—Nyassaland—Zanzibar—The Sudan—Socotra.

BETWEEN 1875 and 1884 Britain had practically the whole of South and East Africa before her where to choose; but she did not realise the value of her opportunities. Responsible government had been granted to the Cape in 1872, but her statesmen were somewhat timid; and even more timid were the statesmen of the Mother Country, who did not greatly encourage advances towards the north. Still, during the years in question, some progress was made. Griqualand West, to the north of the Upper Orange river, which had existed as a separate province since 1871, was annexed to the Cape in 1877, though its actual occupation did not take place till 1880. On the other side of the Orange Free State the whole of the territories beyond the Kei river were included in the colony between 1877 and 1885. Basutoland, annexed in 1871, was placed under direct imperial rule in 1883. Bit by bit all the country between the Kei river, Natal, and the Orange Free State was taken in, so that in 1884 British dominion, direct or indirect, extended, including Natal

South Africa.

and Zululand (not actually annexed till 1887), up to St. Lucia Bay, with the exception of a section of Pondoland, which for some reason even yet remains unannexed. It was in 1875 that Marshal MacMahon made over Delagoa Bay to the Portuguese. It was only in 1887 that, by the Tonga Treaty, British suzerainty was established to the Portuguese boundary. Both the Orange Free State and the Transvaal are independent republics; the latter under a slender British suzerainty, though, as a matter of fact, it is doubtful if either state would be permitted to enter into relations with foreign Powers save by and with the approval of the Imperial Government. The attempt to incorporate the Transvaal into the British Empire proved a failure. A noteworthy event in the history of that Republic, and as affecting British interests in this part of Africa, is the convention between it and Portugal whereby, among other things, facilities were afforded for the construction of a railway from Delagoa Bay, by which it was hoped, so far as communications are concerned, the Transvaal would be independent of British South Africa.

Bechuana-land.

In 1884, roused by the attempts at extension on the part of the Transvaal, and latterly stimulated by the activity of Germany, Britain took her first long step towards stretching her empire up to and beyond the Zambesi. By the labours of Moffat, Livingstone, and their successors, and by many years' intercourse with hunters and traders, the Bechuanas had long been familiar with the British; Kuruman, Mafeking, Kolobeng, and Shoshong, taking us into the heart of the Bechuana country, have

been familiar to readers of the records of missionary enterprises for nearly half a century. What with the Germans on the west, and the restless and covetous Boers on the east, there was great danger of this extensive territory, British in everything but the name, slipping out of our hands. With more than usual promptitude and daring, treaties were, in May 1884, made with the native chiefs whereby the whole of the country north of Cape Colony, west of the Transvaal, south of 22° south, and east of 20° east longitude, was surrendered to Great Britain, though a British protectorate was not actually proclaimed till March 1885. Later in the same year the southern portion was erected into the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland. The northern and larger portion, in which Khama, an exceptionally intelligent chief, is paramount, remained a protectorate, with Khama's consent, proclaimed at Shoshong in May 1885. All this was not brought about without much tact and firmness on the part of Sir Charles Warren, who entered the territory with an armed force to carry out the annexation. It was not without many reservations and doubts that Khama at last agreed to the proposals brought before him by Sir Charles, but in the end he gave in his loyal adherence to Her Majesty, and has adhered to it as loyally ever since. And well he may, for we are now bound, as his suzerain, to protect him against the raids of his old enemy, Lobengula of Matabeleland. Sechele and other chiefs followed Khama's example, and so some 160,000 square miles were added to the British Empire. This, however, was not accomplished without much hesita-

tion and vacillation on the part of Mr. Gladstone's Government, which was in power from April 1880 to June 1885, during which period we lost much that we might have kept, had there been more promptitude on the part of our Colonial Office and the Cape Government. To the events which led to the annexation of the Transvaal under Lord Beaconsfield's Government there is no need to refer, nor to the retrocession of that state under his successor. The action of Germany in 1884 roused both the Home and the Cape Governments from their lethargy, and compelled them to make haste to prevent Germany from entirely blocking the way to the Zambesi.

Damaraland.

It seems unaccountable now that the Cape did not formally annex Damaraland and Namaqualand as a result of the mission of Mr. Coates Palgrave in 1876. This extensive region seems, indeed, even before Mr. Palgrave's mission, to have been regarded informally as an appendage to the Cape, which had had relations with it, as we have seen, since the end of last century. Mr. Palgrave represented to the natives the great advantages of their being under the protection of the colony, and to this it would seem they had no objection. But all that was done at the time was the formal annexation of Walfish Bay and the surrounding district, the establishment of a magistracy there, and a residency at Okahanja, the kraal of the chief of the Kamahereros. Magistrates and their staffs were supported by the Cape, which then went to sleep until rudely awakened by the raising of the German flag at Angra Pequeña in 1884.

Meantime, in 1885, the Home Government brought the subject of South African Confederation before the Cape Government in a despatch (May) from the Earl of Carnarvon to the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly. The idea was to incorporate under the suzerainty of the British Crown the whole of British South Africa, along with the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Mr. Froude was sent out as the representative of the Colonial Office to take part in the proposed Conference. But the opposition to Confederation was so strong that no Conference was held, and Mr. Froude had to content himself with lecturing on the subject at a series of public meetings. Conferences were afterwards held in London on the subject, but no progress was made, and the movement now stands where it did fifteen years ago. Confederation is still talked of, and talked of hopefully; and under the new conditions, arising from the enormous extension of British South Africa, some form of federation is apparently becoming inevitable.

South African Confederation.

As early as 1870 the gold-fields of Matabeleland had attracted diggers and settlers; Mohr, on his journey to the Zambesi about that date, found Sir John Swinburne and other Englishmen settled at Tati and working the quartz reefs. Baines had already been in Matabeleland, and later still Selous and other hunters traversed the country between the Limpopo and Zambesi; English missionaries were at work, and in other ways British influence was being spread in a region which has now become part of the Empire, and promises to be one of our most important acquisitions in Africa.

Matabeleland.

Nyassaland.

North of the Zambesi the spread of British influence and British enterprise which had been begun by Livingstone in 1859 was continued, with one or two breaks, by the establishment of various English and Scotch missions on the Upper Shiré and on Lake Nyassa; by the placing of steamers on the lake; the establishment of trading stations by the African Lakes Company—founded in 1878; and by exploring journeys in various directions. A road was constructed by a British engineer, James Stewart, between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika. Plantations were established on the Blantyre highlands; schools were opened at various points over Nyassaland; industries were introduced, and natives trained in their practice; doctors worked hand in hand with the missionaries; strenuous efforts were made to put a stop to the slave-trade. Thus, in spite of the somewhat feeble action of the Lakes Company, British influence was firmly established over all the Lake Nyassa region by the critical year of 1884, while Portugal had made no attempt to claim effective possession of the country.

Farther north, at Zanzibar and on all the extensive strip of coast under the Sultan's jurisdiction, British influence was supreme from 1875 to 1884. Sir John Kirk, Livingstone's companion on the Zambesi, had been attached to the British agency at Zanzibar since 1866. Since 1868 he had been in actual charge of the post with ever-growing influence and increasing power. He carried out effectually the policy of his predecessors, and under him British influence became more and more supreme. The whole policy of the Sultanate was

framed to suit the wishes of the British Government. It was under pressure from England that the Sultan abolished the slave-trade, nominally at least. Almost the entire trade of East Africa was in the hands of British firms and British subjects from India. It was to promote the abolition of the slave-trade and to encourage legitimate commerce that Sir William Mackinnon and Sir Fowell Buxton constructed some sixty miles of road into the interior from Dar-es-Salaam. So long ago as 1878 the then Sultan Said Burghash actually offered to make over the commercial exploitation of the whole of his dominions to Mr. (now Sir) William Mackinnon, the Chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company, whose firm had long had intimate trade relations with Zanzibar. Sir William urged the Government of the day (Lord Beaconsfield's) to authorise his acceptance of this offer, and to support him by declaring Zanzibar a British protectorate; a step which would have been in accordance with the Sultan's wishes. But even Lord Beaconsfield, with all his imperial aspirations, shrank from assuming the responsibility. His imperialism was not cosmopolitan; even he had no suspicion of the colonial aspirations of Germany, which had then taken deep root; or if he had, he did not foresee to what they would lead. At all events, the opportunity was let slip here as it was in Damaraland; our influence, it may have been thought, was real enough without our saddling ourselves with a protectorate. And after all, the loss has probably not been so great as at first sight appears; what precisely that loss has been will be seen later on.

The Sudan. In the Upper Nile regions,—the Egyptian Sudan (which between 1875 and 1884 had been extended as far south as Albert Nyanza),—the struggle with the forces of the Mahdi was at its hottest in the latter year; though it was not till 1885 that the region south of Wady Halfa was abandoned, after the death of Gordon, by the advice of England, who continued to hold Suakin, and established herself at Zeilah and Berbera,

Socotra. on the Somali coast. The island of Socotra was placed within the British sphere in 1875, though it was not till 1886 that it was actually annexed. Italy had been hovering around it in the former year; it was rumoured that she desired to annex it as a convict station.

# CHAPTER XII

## GERMANY ENTERS THE FIELD

The position in 1884—Early German colonisation—German Colonial Societies—The German African Society—Exploring activity—The German Colonial Society—Bismarck and the Chambers of Commerce—Bismarck's early search for colonies—Colonial literature—Progress of German trade in Africa—The German and British Foreign Offices—Damaraland and Namaqualand—The Rhenish Missionaries—British protection requested—Increase of trade—Sir Bartle Frere—British jurisdiction confined to Walfish Bay—Blindness of British statesmen to Germany's aspirations—Germany's cautious advances—Herr Lüderitz—Bismarck sounds the British Foreign Office—Lüderitz proceeds to Angra Pequeña—Lüderitz obtains concession—German flag raised—Indignation in England and the Cape—Evasive conduct of British Government—Germany declares protectorate over Angra Pequeña—Continued British delusions—England recognises German protectorate—Attitude of England and the Cape.

LET us briefly resume the position in 1884. Up to that year the great European powers in Africa were England, France, and Portugal. This last Power claimed enormous territories, but her influence was feeble, and her actual occupation of the most limited character. The idea of joining her east and west coast possessions by a broad band across the Continent had only been hinted at. England had virtually agreed to consent to her taking possession of the strip of country from 5° 12′ to 8° south, including the mouth of the Congo. The Congo Free State did not exist, and the King of the Belgians could only be regarded

The position in 1884.

as the chief of a semi-private enterprise of a pseudo-international character. France was firmly established in Algeria and Tunis. She was rapidly extending her conquests from the west coast towards the Upper Niger, and had carried her Gaboon territories over an immense area down to the Congo. She had latent claims to one or two points on the Gold Coast, and was struggling to bring Madagascar under her sway. At Obock, on the Red Sea, she had a *locus standi*, but not much more. Great Britain was practically supreme in South Africa up to the Orange River and Delagoa Bay. She believed no power would dream of questioning her claims to Damaraland and Namaqualand as her sphere of influence—a phrase, however, which can hardly be said to have existed then. At the same time it must be said that there were serious thoughts at the Cape of abandoning Walfish Bay entirely; and that was the only position actually occupied by the Cape authorities. The Damaras were in a chronic state of war, and the few Whites in their territories in constant dread of attack.

Preparations were already on foot to include the whole of Bechuanaland, for the commission to Sir Hercules Robinson to look after British interests in that region was issued in February 1884, possibly instigated by the correspondence which had already passed between the Foreign Offices of London and Berlin.

On the west coast England held on half-hesitatingly to her four colonies, while the Niger Company was extending its influence on the river and buying out all rivalry. In Nyassaland missionaries and traders

were fairly at work extending and consolidating British influence. Many settlements had been planted on the borders of Matabeleland, and British travellers were opening up a country about which we could learn little or nothing from Portuguese sources. At Zanzibar British influence was supreme, though German traders were doing their best to supplant English goods by cheap continental wares. The Transvaal was still in a state of irritation against the British Government; her borders were unsettled, and even so far back as 1874 and 1878 she had toyed with the idea of a German protectorate, which, however, was now beyond her reach. Egypt was fast losing hold of the Sudan; Italy was casting covetous eyes on Tripoli, while her travellers were exploring Abyssinia and Shoa. Spain can hardly be said to have established her footing on the Western Sudan coast, though she claimed rights on the river Muni.

Such was the position of affairs in Africa when Germany entered the field and precipitated the comparatively leisurely partition of the Continent into a hasty scramble. Prince Bismarck was still the *de facto* ruler of an empire which had grown in unity and strength and wealth since its birth at Versailles in 1871, whose merchants were finding new markets all over the world, whose people were emigrating in thousands every year to strengthen the colonies of Britain; she was fretting under the conviction that without foreign possessions it could never be considered a great world-power. Germany was tired of a stay-at-home policy.

Early German colonisation.

Cataclysms do not occur in the history of humanity any more than they do in the physical world. Those who care, and are competent to look beneath the surface, have no difficulty in discovering that what seems an unaccountably sudden event or catastrophe is simply the natural and inevitable result of forces that have been accumulating and growing in intensity over a long period of time. The world at large was astonished at the apparently inexplicable outburst of colonising zeal on the part of Germany in the early period of 1884; and none were apparently more surprised than the British Foreign Office and the Government of the Cape, though both might well have been prepared for what occurred. As has already been pointed out, the desire to possess colonies is no impulse of recent birth in Germany. Two hundred years ago Prussia had established herself on the Gold Coast, and would have remained there had all her energies not been required at home; and even Austria, it has been seen, made her one solitary effort to acquire a footing in Africa at the end of last century. In Germany, as in other European countries, after the continent had had time to recover from the Napoleonic incubus, as population increased competition became more and more intense, as discontent with their condition spread among the lower strata of society, the fever for colonisation laid hold of the country. There was really no Germany then, no united and powerful empire with surplus wealth and surplus energy to acquire colonies for itself. Moreover, even fifty years ago, when the migrating spirit began

to increase in strength, all the new fields of settlement most suited to Europeans were occupied by other powers. The United States, Canada, Australia, the Cape, were crying out for colonists; there was room for millions of fresh incomers, with an almost perfect climate, a soil that had only to be scratched to yield the richest harvests, and rumours of boundless stores of gold. It is no wonder, then, that the discontented surplus population of Germany flocked for the most part to the United States, and a small proportion both to Australia and the Cape. But even fifty years ago there was a feeling in Germany that Germans ought to have some place beyond the seas of their own to which they might go; that it was a pity for her sturdy sons and lusty daughters to be utilised simply to infuse fresh vigour and enterprise into colonies in which the Anglo-Saxon race is dominant. We find, then, those Germans interested in colonisation trying experiments on various parts of the earth, including lands already occupied by their English cousins. It is not surprising that Africa does not seem to have been thought of, for Africa, fifty years ago, was, it must be remembered, all but unknown beyond its sea board. There was at that date, not only in Germany, but even in England, considerable attention given to Brazil as a field for colonisation. Certainly it was to this enormous country that the efforts of what we may call independent German colonisation were first directed. As early as 1843, a society was founded in Dusseldorf for the purpose of promoting emigration to Brazil. This was rapidly followed by other Colonisation

German Colonial Societies.

Societies, some directing their attention to Texas, others to the Mosquito Coast, to Nicaragua, to Chile. In 1849, a society for the centralisation of German colonisation was founded at Berlin, but southern Brazil was the favourite sphere, and a considerable share of emigration was directed to that region, where, as a matter of fact, there are at the present day numerous flourishing German colonies, or, as they should perhaps be called, settlements, since the territory on which they are planted belongs to the Brazilian Government. Most of these societies, however, expired without producing permanent results; but the Dresden Society and its Frankfort cousin, as well as the Hamburg Society, still exist and do good work.

The events of 1866 gave an impulse to the colonial movement in Germany; but far more so the results of the war with France and the reconstitution of the German Empire, under the hegemony of Prussia, in 1871. Into the various causes which contributed to give this intensely forward impulse to Germany it is unnecessary to enter; all the scattered energies of Germany in the direction of colonisation, as in other directions, were united into one strong current. But even before 1871—in 1868—one of the most important societies for the promotion of German interests abroad had been founded—the "Centralverein für Handelsgeographie und Forderung Deutscher Interesse im Auslande." It is noteworthy that this society was founded by Otto Kersten, the companion in East Africa of Von der Decken, whose urgent advice to Germany with reference to East Africa was quoted in

a previous chapter. This society had and has its headquarters in Berlin, with branches in all the leading cities of the Empire, and even in Brazil, the Argentine, and New South Wales. The professed objects of the society were: "The study of those lands in which organised German settlements already exist; the social and commercial conditions and the spread of information thereon; the promotion of emigration to regions where settlers of German origin are already established, under conditions favourable to the genius of the German people; the promotion of intellectual and material intercourse between the German colonial settlements and the German fatherland; and lastly, furthering the establishment of trade and navigation and the acquisition of colonies." The programme is certainly ambitious and comprehensive enough, and no doubt the Society in its meetings and those of its branches, and through its ably-conducted weekly organ *Export*, has done much, not only to promote German commerce, but also to foster the colonial spirit.

The German African Society.

But so far as Africa was concerned the great instrument in nourishing the growth of the spirit for acquiring colonies was the German African Society of Berlin, which with the scientific exploration of the continent combined the opening up of unknown regions of Africa to trade and industry. This Society was founded in 1878, from a union of the German Society for the Scientific Exploration of Equatorial Africa (founded 1873) and the German African Society (founded in 1876), as a branch of the International African Association, with more practical if somewhat

vague objects in view. German explorers had already done much for Africa, but the action of King Leopold in founding the International Association, with its numerous national branches, attracted more attention than ever to Central Africa, from the utilitarian point of view. German stations were founded at Kakoma and other centres in the East African interior, from which under Böhm, Kaiser, and Reichard much good exploring work was carried on towards Lake Tanganyika and the upper waters of the Lualaba, while the economical aspects of the region were not lost sight of. Dr. Reichard, indeed, has been one of the most ardent promoters of the colonial movement in Germany. The German African Association showed even more enterprise in West Africa than in East Africa. Shortly after its promotion, Dr. Buchner and Dr. Pogge penetrated from Angola into the interior of the Muata Yanvo's kingdom (Lunda), while Wissmann's first work in Africa was carried out in the same region, that watered by the southern tributaries of the Congo, in 1881-84. Schulze, Kund, Wolff, and others followed in the same direction, and there is no doubt that about this period Bismarck entertained serious ideas of acquiring a footing in the Congo basin. During 1882-84 Flegel was extremely active on the Niger and Benué, and undoubtedly did much to add to our knowledge of the geography of the region. At the same time, after-events proved that he kept commercial interests keenly in view.

Exploring activity.

All this activity turned the attention of Germany more and more to Africa, and helped to foster the

rapidly-growing colonial spirit which was still further strengthened by the doings of other Powers between 1876 and 1884. Thus, by the beginning of the latter year, this pent-up spirit was ready to burst forth into action whenever Bismarck chose to open the sluice gate. The activity of all the associations referred to, the increasing flow of emigration which went to swell the prosperity of other countries, the growth of commerce, shipping and manufacturing industry, the increase of the Prussian navy—all helped to foster the longing of Germany for colonies of her own.

**The German Colonial Society.**

It was no wonder, then, that when the German Colonial Society was founded at Frankfort, on 6th December 1882, it received widespread and enthusiastic support. By the end of 1883 it had 3260 members belonging to all parts of the Empire, and it boasted almost three times that number of members a few years later. Still another impulse was given to the colonial movement by a manifesto issued by the German African Society in the same year (1883), in which it was stated that the activity of the Society would be concentrated in certain districts, especially the basins of the Niger and Congo, and in which it was urged that the German Government should take steps to prevent these regions from being annexed by any European Power, and to secure that they should be open to the traders of all nations. Another powerful influence was this year brought to bear upon Bismarck, one which perhaps more than any other determined him to take the final step. He had asked the Chambers of Commerce of Hamburg,

**Bismarck and the Chambers of Commerce.**

Bremen, and Lubeck, to express their views as to what would be the most effective means to protect and encourage German trade, especially in Africa. The replies all pointed, more or less directly, to annexation; that of the Hamburg Chamber especially, which went into the whole subject in detail, urged with incisive clearness the annexation of independent coast regions, the acquisition of a naval station on Fernando Po, and the conclusion of treaties with native chiefs. It was this manifesto from Hamburg, probably, which determined Bismarck to bring the British Foreign Office to book without delay with reference to the question he had already laid before them as to the protection of German interests in South-west Africa.

**Bismarck's early search for colonies.**

At first, it must be said, the colonial idea did not find much favour in the eyes of German officialdom. Bismarck himself, it need hardly be said, was always open-minded, watching the moment when it would be safe for him to intervene. Long before 1884 feelers were put out by him to ascertain how the pulse of Prussia beat with regard to foreign possessions. Even as far back as the sixties, a Prussian squadron returned from a prospecting voyage in Eastern Asiatic waters, and in an apparently harmless description of the voyage in the public press a suggestion was made that Formosa would form an excellent naval station for Prussian ships, and might even be utilised as a colony. Later on, Delagoa Bay, the Sulu Archipelago, a part of North Borneo, and other places were referred to in the same tone. But though these feelers attracted attention and drew forth protests from foreign countries, they met

with no response in Germany. It was only after Germany became a united empire under Prussia (1871), when possessed of a navy growing in strength which took the sons of the Fatherland in greater and greater numbers over the seas, that the interest in trans-oceanic matters and in colonial questions began to grow in breadth and depth. Not only the articles which appeared in the periodical press, but various books which were published on the subject of colonisation, all tended to help forward the movement. Two of the most important, certainly two of the most influential of these publications, were Dr. Emil Jung's *Deutsche Kolonien* (1879), and Fabri's *Darf Deutschland Kolonien* (1883). The latter, especially, had a marked influence in intensifying the colonial spirit in Germany, so much so that when Fabri died, in 1891, he was referred to in the German press as the father of German colonisation.

Colonial literature.

It was about the year 1840 that German (Hamburg) houses began to have intimate trading relations with the West Coast of Africa. At first they had great difficulties in getting their goods into the African market, the traders of other nationalities stigmatising them as "German trash." It was indeed only by giving their wares good English and French trade-marks that they succeeded in securing a footing at all. But the Hamburg traders managed to make headway, and in 1852 the well-known Hamburg firm of Woermann entered into successful trading relations with Liberia, and by 1859 had factories at various points of the coast, between the Cameroons and the Gaboon, and even as far south as Angola. The Woermanns were soon followed by the

Progress of German trade in Africa.

O'Swalds of Hamburg, who in the fifth decade of this century secured a footing at Zanzibar. In 1854, the O'Swalds established a factory at Lagos (before it became a British colony), and soon did a flourishing business by importing enormous quantities of cowrie shells which they exchanged for native products. These were followed in their African ventures by other Hamburg and Bremen firms, and in 1859 the three Hanse towns concluded a commercial treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar by which certain trade privileges were accorded to them. Ten years later this treaty was made to cover the whole of the North German Confederation. After the formation of the Confederation, and especially after the conversion into one United Empire, the trade of Germany increased with giant strides, and the factories on the West Coast of Africa became more and more numerous, while the commercial intercourse with Zanzibar grew steadily. In the beginning of 1884 there were some fifteen German firms, mostly of Hamburg and Bremen, which had among them about sixty factories on the West Coast of Africa, extending from Portuguese Guinea down through Liberia, the Guinea Coast, the Cameroons, the Rio Campo, Eloby, Corisco, the Gaboon, the Ogové, Fernand Vaz, Sette Kamma, the Kwilu, and the Congo mouth, to Damaraland. In addition the North German and the Basel Missionary Societies had some hundred stations all along the West Coast, and a considerable number in the interior of Damaraland and Namaqualand. Thus when in 1884 Bismarck took the decisive step in the creation of a "Colonial Empire," it

was not only the remains of the old Brandenburg Fort of Gross Friedrichsburg, which still existed on the German coast, and the scientific work which had been done by German explorers that suggested Africa as an inviting field. There were substantial German interests all along the West Coast clamouring for the protection of the German flag. It was, moreover, natural that German traders should desire to have fields for their energies independent of the competition of foreign rivals, in which they could impose their own tariffs, and have it all their own way. It is probably known to few that as long ago as 1874 the Sultan of Zanzibar made overtures for the purpose of having his territory placed under German protection; but Bismarck knew that at that time there was no chance of obtaining a hearing for such a proposal in the German Parliament, and therefore declined it. Ten years later the position had entirely changed.

The German and British Foreign Offices.

There can be little doubt that the long and irritating correspondence which took place between the Foreign Offices of Germany and Great Britain with regard to the claims of German subjects in the Fiji Islands had much to do in fostering the colonial spirit in Germany and precipitating action in Africa as well as elsewhere. The whole tone of the communications of the British Foreign Office on the subject reveals the fact that the colonial aspirations of Germany were either unknown in that quarter, or were not taken seriously. But when the first step was taken in Africa no time was lost in coming to an understanding with Germany with reference to her claims.

The actual first step towards the acquisition of colonies in Africa on behalf of Germany was taken by a private individual. And here let us once more recall the fact that in her new departure Germany's choice was practically restricted to tropical Africa and the tropical Pacific. It was only in Central Africa that any European power desirous of acquiring foreign possessions, and not caring to go to war for them, had a free hand. At the same time, it will be seen, an effort was made on behalf of Germany to obtain a footing on the south of the Zambesi. It was natural, moreover, that a beginning should be made in West Africa, where German interests were so widespread and so important.

Damaraland and Namaqualand.

From the beginning of this century missionaries from South Africa had penetrated into Namaqualand and Damaraland to carry on their work among the natives in a region much of which is not very far removed from the desert stage. Some of these missionaries were of German nationality, but they were in the service of the London Missionary Society. As has been seen in a previous chapter, however, expeditions were sent from the Cape in the last century, when it was a Dutch colony, to report upon this part of the country, and, as a matter of fact, part at least of the coast region had been annexed to the Colony. This annexation was allowed to lapse, or was forgotten; at any rate no reference was made to it when the Cape Government protested against the recent German occupation. Sixty years ago, when the only route to India was by St. Helena and the Cape, Walfish Bay was utilised for the purpose of exporting cattle to supply the ships calling

at St. Helena; for, barren as the country is, it does support considerable herds. But no step was then taken for actual annexation to the Cape, and in time the cattle export fell off, though in more recent years it was revived from the Cape. In 1842 the Rhenish Mission established its first station at Bethanien in Namaqualand. Other stations in the interior were founded, and the German missionaries made numerous converts and acquired considerable influence; at the same time they did not deem it inconsistent with their spiritual functions to carry on trade with the natives in a small way. Walfish Bay still continued to be of importance as the chief harbour on the whole extent of coast-line, and as an outlet for the copper which was discovered in the country about forty years ago, but of which little could be made. In time, the disputes and wars which arose among the natives endangered the lives and property of the Rhenish missionaries, and they appealed to their Government for protection. This was in 1868. The Prussian Government at once communicated with the British Government and suggested a joint demonstration of English and German war-ships. England did not approve of this, but expressed herself ready to extend the same protection to German subjects as she would to her own. Of course this implied on the part of England that she claimed Damaraland and Namaqualand as within her sphere, a claim tacitly acknowledged by Germany. As a matter of fact, England neither directly nor through the Cape Government exercised any real influence in the country. It was at this period that the Germans

**The Rhenish missionaries.**

**British protection requested.**

actually acquired, for the first time, territory in this country which they could call their own. In 1864 the missionaries bought the ground and buildings of the Walfish Bay Copper Company at Otyimbingue, some distance to the north-east of the bay; and here they took every opportunity of hoisting the flag of their country. Trade, moreover, went on expanding, and a missionary trading society was actually founded in Barmen. This trade had, however, to be carrried on through the Cape, the tariffs of which somewhat hampered it, and latterly these tariffs were also applied to Walfish Bay, when the Germans sought to have direct communication with Europe, and Boers from the Transvaal began to break into the country. Sir Bartle Frere, who was Governor of the Cape (1877-81), was shrewd enough to see what might be the end of these aspirations on the part of German missionary traders, but his expressed fears of German designs were ridiculed, and it was only to please the "old man," as he was called, that Walfish Bay and fifteen miles round it was declared British territory in March 1878. Previous to this, it has been seen, Mr. Coates Palgrave visited and reported on the country. He made treaties with the most powerful chiefs, and the Governor of the Cape urged that the whole country should be formally annexed by the British Government. But the Government of the period (the Earl of Beaconsfield's) would not go beyond Walfish Bay, where a feeble show of administration was established, which did not extend beyond the station.

Increase of trade.

Sir Bartle Frere.

Frequent complaints were made by the German missionaries of their treatment by the natives, and at

last Mr. Palgrave was compelled to formally intimate that Great Britain had no power over the native chiefs. Evasive answers were returned to the memorials from the missionaries asking definitely whether they could reckon on the protection of England. At last an appeal was made to the German Consul at the Cape and to the Imperial Government. The result was that in 1880 all British officials were withdrawn from Damaraland, and only Walfish Bay remained under the British flag. During 1880 fresh representations continued to be made by the German missionaries—who claimed 5000 converts, and substantial commercial interests in the country—as to the uncertainty of their position. Again Bismarck begged the British Foreign Office to say whether Her Majesty's Government were prepared to protect both English and German interests in Damaraland and Namaqualand in view of the fact that war was raging in the country. Lord Granville, who was at the head of the Foreign Office at the time, followed the example set by his predecessor, the Earl of Beaconsfield, and repudiated all responsibility outside of Walfish Bay; and to make the position quite clear, in the instructions given to Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor of Cape Colony, under date 30th December 1880, it was directly stated that Her Majesty's Government regarded the Orange River as the north-western boundary of Cape Colony, and would lend no encouragement to the establishment of British jurisdiction in Damaraland and Namaqualand outside of Walfish Bay. The arrangement with regard to the latter Her Majesty's Government would not disturb so long as the

British jurisdiction confined to Walfish Bay.

Cape Parliament continued to be responsible for the expenses of its maintenance. This was clear enough, and Cape Colony was apparently quite willing to acquiesce in the practical abandonment of the territory in which for years there had been considerable German activity.

Still, the German missionaries were not satisfied, and the German Government showed itself quite ready to sympathise with their position and to support their complaints. In August 1881 they again approached the German Government, and begged that a German war-ship should be sent to protect their interests. In October of the same year, in reply to a further communication from Berlin, the British Foreign Office once more repudiated all responsibility outside of the narrow circle around Walfish Bay.

**Blindness of British statesmen to Germany's aspirations.**

'Such, then, was the position between Great Britain and Germany in the end of 1882, with reference to a great stretch of territory on the border of Cape Colony. The British Government would have nothing to do with it, and there is nothing on record to prove that the Cape Government was in the least anxious for its formal annexation. Neither at home nor in the Cape Colony was there any suspicion, apparently, that Germany was in the least likely to pick up the leavings of England, and settle down as a colonial power at the threshold of the Cape. If British statesmen were aware of the growing colonial movement in Germany, they did not take it seriously. On the other hand, it should be remembered that a very strong feeling existed among all parties at home, at that date, against the

extension of Imperial responsibility. As a matter of fact, however, whatever may have been the conception which prevailed in Downing Street, there is no doubt that at the Cape, Damaraland and Namaqualand were somewhat vaguely regarded as within the colonial "sphere of influence." Unfortunately the events with which we are dealing occurred before the date of the Berlin Congress, and the principle of "spheres of influence" had not been laid down as one of the rules in the great game of colonial aggrandisement. It is, moreover, difficult to realise the vast change which has taken place since 1883 in the prevailing conception of the relation between the mother country and her colonies. The idea of the solidarity of the Empire may by comparison be said to have scarcely existed at that time; Imperialism has now a totally different meaning from what it then had. In this respect we ought to be grateful to Germany, if only because through her very practical teaching we have begun to realise the value of our Empire beyond the Seas. But at that time neither the one party nor the other foresaw what the near future had in store; Lord Beaconsfield was as indifferent, or as blind, as Lord Granville. The truth is, that no one took Germany's colonial aspirations seriously; no one seems to have dreamed that she would ever be likely to make large annexations, either on the Pacific or in Africa. It was hardly realised that in the short space of twelve years, after the union of the Empire, Germany was ready to become a great world-power. We have seen how strong the colonial

movement had become in Germany, and how diligently and surely Bismarck was feeling the pulse of the country. It seems surprising that after all the correspondence which had taken place between the two Governments, the suspicion of the British Foreign Office was not aroused; for it can scarcely be believed that had Bismarck been taken seriously, something would not have been done to retain Damaraland and Namaqualand within the British sphere, if for no other reason, with a view to a United British Africa south of the Zambesi. Up to the final moment, when the German flag was raised on the coast of Namaqualand, neither at Downing Street nor at the Cape apparently was it believed that the correspondence which had been going on for twenty-five years would result in action by Germany.

**Germany's cautious advances.**

"Ohne Hast, ohne Rast," has been the motto of Germany in her colonial enterprises, as it has been in other spheres—at least, until she actually entered into possession. She proceeded deliberately and openly, she conducted her game with the admirable foresight of a consummate chess-player, who sees, far ahead, what will be the effect of any particular move. The step taken by the Bremen merchant, Herr F. A. E. Lüderitz in the summer of 1882 had certainly something more in view than the acquisition of a private trading station on the coast of Africa. The inner circle of the colonial party in Germany, we cannot but think, intended the action of Herr Lüderitz as the first delicate step towards the accomplishment of their colonial aspirations, a sort of test case, that would

**Herr Lüderitz.**

bring the British Government to book, and force the hand of Prince Bismarck. At the date mentioned Herr Lüderitz (who may be regarded as the representative of that section of the German colonial party interested in Africa) had matured his plan and fixed upon the scene of his operations. Under date of November 16, 1882, he communicated his projects to the German Foreign Office, and asked whether he might reckon upon the protection of the German Government for any rights which he might secure. Bismarck was in no hurry. It was not till February 7, 1883, that he sent, through his son, the following cautious communication to the British Foreign Office, a communication which in the light of events that followed seems suggestive enough, but which at the time apparently excited little suspicion at the Foreign Office. The communication may be regarded as indicating that Bismarck had at last made up his mind to act, and to carry out as far as practicable the designs of the German colonial party. And yet the reservation contained in the final words is noteworthy: —was it only intended to lull any lurking suspicions of the not too wideawake British Ministers? The following is the minute made by Sir Julian Pauncefote of a conversation with Count Herbert Bismarck, under date February 7, 1883:—

Bismarck sounds the British Foreign Office.

"Count Bismarck says that a Bremen merchant is about to establish a factory near the Coast, between the Orange River and the Little Fish River, and has asked protection of the German Government in case of need. The latter desire to know whether Her Majesty's

Government exercise any authority in that locality. If so, they would be glad if they would extend British protection to the German factory. If not, they will do their best to extend to it the same measure of protection which they give to their subjects in remote parts of the world, but without having the least design to establish any footing in South Africa."

To this the following reply was returned under date February 23, 1883, signed by Lord Granville, with the concurrence of Lord Derby :—

"I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that, having consulted the Colonial Office upon the subject, I am informed by that department that the Government of the Cape Colony have certain establishments along the coast, but that, without more precise information as to the spot where the German factory will be established, it is not possible to form any opinion as to whether the British authorities would have it in their power to give it any protection in case of need. If, however, the German Government would be good enough to furnish the required information, it would be forwarded to the Government of Cape Colony, with instructions to report whether and to what extent their wishes could be met."

Lüderitz proceeds to Angra Pequeña.

It was, however, clearly not the intention either of Prince Bismarck or of Herr Lüderitz to await the leisure of the Cape Government nor to submit to the procrastinating policy of the British Foreign Office. The lesson taught in connection with the delay in settling the German claims in Fiji had been taken to heart. By the beginning of 1883 Lüderitz had col-

lected very full information with regard to the coast of Namaqualand, and had definitely arranged all his plans. He was, therefore, in a position to ask the German Foreign Office whether he might reckon upon Imperial protection for any territory which he might acquire in South-west Africa. The reply was that if he succeeded in acquiring any harbour to which no other nation could establish any just claim, he might reckon upon Imperial protection for his undertaking. Lüderitz at once entrusted the execution of his plans to an energetic agent, Heinrich Vogelsang of Bremen, who went out to the Cape to collect further information concerning the country in which the operations were to take place. He was followed by a vessel, the *Tilly*, under Captain Carl Timpe, supplied with every requisite for the important enterprise, except an ox-waggon, a tent, and a few other things which were obtained at the Cape. Here several Germans familiar with South African conditions were taken on board, and the *Tilly* left Cape Town on 5th April, arriving on 9th April at the Bay of Angra Pequeña, about 150 miles to the north of the Orange River, the declared boundary of Cape Colony, and 280 to the south of Walfish Bay, of which England still claimed possession. With the help of some English seal-fishermen on the islands that protect the Bay, the ship was brought to anchor opposite a safe landing-place; the actual landing was effected on the 12th. Word was sent to the mission station at Bethany, about 100 miles in the interior, the residence of the chief, Joseph Frederick. It was not, however, until 30th April that Herr Vogelsang

and his friends reached Bethany across the almost waterless desert that intervened. On the 1st of May, in a conference with the chief, at which the German missionaries and the chief men of the tribe were present, Vogelsang explained the object of his mission, and without much difficulty a contract was signed by the chief and others interested, by which the former sold to Herr Lüderitz some 215 square miles of land on the Bay of Angra Pequeña, including all rights of supremacy. This included about 10 miles of coast, and an extension inland of some 24 miles. On the day after the conference these pioneers of German colonisation returned to the coast, where with natural jubilation the German flag was raised in front of the storehouse which had been erected, and floated on the breeze over the first German colony. The news of what had taken place was received with enthusiasm by the colonial party in Germany, and contributed greatly to increase its numbers, and enlist the enthusiasm of the Empire on behalf of its aims.

**Lüderitz obtains concession.**

**German flag raised.**

In England the rumour that an "irresponsible German adventurer" or "filibuster" had dared to raise a foreign flag on the confines of Cape Colony, on a coast that had always been regarded as within the "British sphere" was received with incredulity and ridicule. Bismarck we were assured would never lend his countenance to such an unfriendly, if not actually hostile, act. That the German nation as a whole and Bismarck in particular entertained any serious intention of acquiring colonies in Africa or elsewhere, probably few believed. The statesmen who, at the time,

**Indignation in England and the Cape.**

had charge of our interests beyond the seas, were only mortal; the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, to all appearance knew and cared little about colonial matters. The only statesman who during this period seems to have seen ahead of his fellows was Sir Bartle Frere. He in 1877 had strongly urged the annexation of the whole coast between the Orange River and the Portuguese boundary; but as we have seen, Walfish Bay was all that the Home Government would concede. Even at so early a period as 1877, this far-seeing Proconsul divined that trouble with Germany was brewing. But our Foreign Office had grown so used to Germany's representations and remonstrances, not only with reference to South Africa, but in connection with Fiji, that it was fondly believed this fresh episode would vanish with another interchange of communications. In the Cape, as might have been expected, the news of Herr Lüderitz's enterprise was received with indignation and incredulity. An English war-ship, the *Boadicea*, went from Cape Town to Angra Pequeña, apparently to assert British rights; but she was met there by the German corvette *Carola*, whose commander informed the English captain that he was in German waters, where he could exercise no authority whatever. The *Boadicea* returned to the Cape on the 3rd of November with the news that Herr Lüderitz had acquired rights over the coast down to the Orange River. The Cape Government was at last awakened to the true position of affairs, though the Home Government still apparently cherished the hope that the action of Herr Lüderitz was unsupported by

his Government, and that all could yet be arranged to the satisfaction of the Colony. Every scrap of evidence that could prove British rights over the coast was sought for and put forward, but when it came to be coolly weighed, there was no shadow of documentary proof that any step had ever been taken to annex any part of the region except Walfish Bay, and one or two guano islands off Angra Pequeña. The evidence was all the other way. British Ministers had repeatedly, during the past twenty-five years, positively declined to undertake the responsibility of annexing Damaraland and Namaqualand. So recently as 1881, the Governor of the Cape was informed that the Orange River was the boundary of the Colony. The Cape Government would occasionally express the opinion that this northern territory ought really to be annexed; but when the Home Government asked if the Colony were willing to undertake the necessary expense, the latter always shrank from the burden. Even now its Ministers, instead of acting, spent their energies in vain protests. It was only after the country had been irrevocably lost that any real desire for its possession seems to have found expression in Cape Colony; otherwise it is difficult to understand why on the first news of Herr Lüderitz's enterprise steps were not taken to annex at least the great stretch of coast which he had left untouched. Every one knew that much of the country was only one stage removed from desert, and as to the copper and silver mines, even if they proved productive it would never pay to work them. But sentiment, natural enough, obscured the

judgment of Cape statesmen and colonists and led them to aggravate the situation by irritating the Imperial pride of Germany. And yet all this was mingled with a strange indifference that led to the loss of precious time, when every day was of importance.

Evasive conduct of British Government.

On 18th August 1883 the Imperial Government informed the German Consul at the Cape that they were prepared to take Herr Lüderitz's acquisitions under their protection if the rights of others were not interfered with thereby; and on 15th October the gunboat *Nautilus* was ordered to Angra Pequeña to protect German interests. On 12th November, the German Minister in London was instructed to inquire whether or not there were any British claims over the Angra Pequeña district, and if so, on what titles were they based. Ten days later (21st Nov.) Lord Granville replied that England exercised sovereignty only over certain parts on the coast, as Walfish Bay and some islands opposite Angra Pequeña; but that at the same time, any claim of sovereignty or jurisdiction on the part of a foreign power over any part of the coast between the Portuguese boundary and the Orange River would be regarded as an encroachment on the legitimate rights of the Colony. The British Government, Lord Granville stated, to prevent disputes between the Germans and the English who believed they had old rights at Angra Pequeña, had sent a war-ship, and the report of its mission was awaited. The vessel was the *Boadicea*, the result of whose visit we have already seen. At the same time Lord Granville hoped that arrangements might be made by which the Germans

could take part in the settlement of Angra Pequeña. It is evident that in November 1883 Lord Granville did not in the least realise the seriousness of the situation. This evasive answer failed to satisfy Prince Bismarck, who repeated his question on 31st December, through the German Ambassador, Count Münster, recalling previous correspondence with reference to the German missionaries and the repeated declarations of the British Government that they had no jurisdiction over any part of the region in question outside Walfish Bay. Moreover, Bismarck recalled the fact that England herself (as in the case of Spain in the Caroline, Pelew, and Sulu Islands) had asserted a right to interfere directly for the protection of her own subjects where no adequate political administration had been established by the power claiming the territory. This Germany was entitled to do for her subjects at Angra Pequeña, and therefore Bismarck begged to be informed as to the title on which England's professed claims were based, and as to what means she had taken to protect German subjects so as to relieve Germany from the necessity of protecting them herself. In the light of subsequent events one cannot but admire the skill with which the communication was worded; Lord Derby subsequently admitted that it lulled all his suspicions. The Home Government communicated with the Cape Government on the subject, but no notice was taken of this communication and no answer vouchsafed until 29th May 1884, when the Cape Government intimated that their Colony would recommend Parliament to under-

take the control of the whole coast to Walfish Bay, Angra Pequeña included.

It is difficult now to realise the ostrich-like blindness of both the Home and Colonial Governments to the real nature of the situation, and to accomplished facts. While the Cape Government were treating the civil inquiries of Germany with contemptuous neglect, steps were being taken to tighten more and more firmly Germany's hold on her first trans-oceanic possession. The Bremen merchants were actively opening up the territory and with German thoroughness promoting its exploration and instituting observations on its climate. On 24th April 1884 the German Consul at the Cape was instructed to remove all doubts entertained by the Cape Government by informing it officially that Herr Lüderitz and his possessions were placed under the protection of the Empire; and to enforce the information a German war-ship was ordered to Angra Pequeña. Still Bismarck can hardly have been taken seriously either at home or at the Cape. The Cape Premier's message of May has already been alluded to. In reply to a question in the Upper House by Viscount Sidmouth on 12th May, Lord Granville stated that, so far as he knew, Germany had never claimed sovereignty over any part of the territory in question, and that the matter was still the subject of discussion between the two Governments. Two days later Lord Derby informed a deputation who waited upon him, that although England herself never directly annexed Angra Pequeña, she nevertheless claimed the right to exclude all other powers from the coast

Germany declares protectorate over Angra Pequeña.

Continued British delusions.

north of the Orange River. Germany had been asking some questions on the subject, but appeared to have no intention of establishing a colony at Angra Pequeña. He himself did not share the fears with which some persons regarded the professed projects of the German Government to establish colonies in different parts of the world. Colonisation did not enter into the programme of the German Empire. Germany believed that the secret of her power lay in concentration, and she would never weaken herself by taking possession of lands in distant parts of the world. Cape Colony is ready to annex Angra Pequeña, and if the British Government sees that it can be done honourably and with the prospect of good results, it will give its consent, but in that case, Cape Colony must be prepared to bear all the burdens. In a subsequent memorandum (7th October 1884) on the subject Lord Derby tried hard to prove that the German Government had all along given him reason to believe that territorial acquisition was not at all in their thoughts; and it must be said that with all their apparent openness and frankness, Bismarck's earlier communications were devised with an amount of skill, sufficient, as it proved, to lull any suspicions on the part of the British Colonial and Foreign Ministers.

**England recognises German protectorate.**

Bismarck was losing patience. He sent very explicit instructions on 10th June to Count Münster on the subject, and at the same time, Count Herbert Bismarck went to London on a special mission to bring matters to a final issue. The result was inevitable; on 21st June the British Cabinet decided to recognise the

German Protectorate over Angra Pequeña; as a matter of fact the actual Protectorate had by this time been extended over a considerable part of the coast, and the eminent explorer Dr. Nachtigal was on his way as German Consul-General to formally proclaim the Imperial sovereignty over the whole stretch of unoccupied coast. And yet the Cape Parliament, encouraged no doubt by Lord Derby's attitude, ignoring all that had passed during the previous six months, voted unanimously so late as 16th July for the annexation of all the territory between the Orange River and the Portuguese boundary. Even at that date, apparently, they had not realised that Bismarck was in earnest, and even so late as 25th August the Cape Ministers presented a minute to the Governor hoping it was not yet too late to secure the whole coast-line for Great Britain.

**Attitude of England and the Cape.**

All that followed was simply the filling-in of details. The great lines had been drawn. Germany was recognised as a colonial power. She had made up her mind to have a share of unoccupied Africa; she had initiated the scramble by which the long-neglected continent, within the space of a few years, it might almost be said months, became parcelled out among the Powers of Europe. Fortunately England lost little of any material value in allowing Damaraland and Namaqualand to slip out of her hands, and Germany soon recognised that she had not gained much by annexing 250,000 square miles consisting largely of desert. The Home Government and the Cape Government cannot afford to cast stones at each other for

their conduct in connection with Angra Pequeña; the contemptuous dog-in-the-manger policy of the Cape authorities did much to arouse the wrath of Prince Bismarck and the German people and to strengthen the resolve of the former to throw himself heart and soul into the Colonial movement. The British Government fortunately yielded at last with a good grace and welcomed Germany as a neighbour in Africa, promising to do all that was friendly in promoting her colonial views. There was of course a great outcry among certain sections of the British public at what had taken place; as if the mere fact of Germany desiring to possess colonies were an insult to the British flag. If we hold to what we have, no nation on earth can rival us as a colonial power. It is possible that we might have done better for ourselves in Africa than we have done, and there have been humiliating episodes in the part we have taken in the scramble; but we may also congratulate ourselves that we have not fared worse than we have done, for we did our best to deserve worse.

Further annexations.

The final scene in what may be regarded as the first act in the great drama of German colonial enterprise may be said to have been concluded on 7th August 1884, when Captain Schering, of His Imperial Majesty's ship *Elizabeth*, hoisted the Imperial flag over Angra Pequeña in token of the annexation of the coast and twenty geographical miles inland, from the Orange River to 26° south latitude. This was followed, within the next few days, by the annexation in a similar fashion of all the coast between 26° south and the Portuguese boundary with the exception of Walfish Bay.

# CHAPTER XIII

## GERMANY IN THE CAMEROONS AND THE GULF OF GUINEA

Further operations in S.W. Africa—Attempt to annex St. Lucia Bay—German traders on the West Coast—British influence on the West Coast—England's dilatory action—Germany takes action—The Dubreka river—Togoland declared a German protectorate—The Cameroons—Annexation by Germany—The Oil Rivers secured to England—Feeling in Germany and England—Bismarck's part.

IT has been thought important to dwell at some length on the first act in the great drama of German colonisation, because the method adopted by Bismarck with respect to Angra Pequeña was similar to that followed in connection with German colonial enterprises in other parts of Africa; and it will therefore be unnecessary to deal with them in so much detail. The *Möwe*, with Dr. Nachtigal as Imperial Commissioner and Consul-General on board, visited the coast in the end of September 1884, and supplemented the work of the *Elizabeth* by raising more flags and making fresh additions to the German Protectorate. Lüderitz lost no time in sending out well-equipped expeditions to explore the country, open up routes to the interior, discover the value of its mining resources, and make further treaties with chiefs. Several English firms asserted claims to the copper

Further operations in S.W. Africa.

mines, and other concessions said to have been made by chiefs, but these did not affect the German supremacy; a Joint Commission was appointed to settle the claims. Dr. Nachtigal spent some time in visiting various chiefs in the interior and concluding treaties, confirming the German claims to their country. In a despatch to the Cape Government of 11th November, Lord Derby found it necessary to snub one more hopeless attempt on the part of the Colony to annex territory outside of Walfish Bay. The Germans were not to be interfered with; but, on the other hand, the Government were inclined to consider the advisability of annexing the Kalahari Desert, and also to maintain the route from the Cape to the interior. At the same time, on the 24th of December, Prince Bismarck was officially informed that the British Government had no wish to make any annexations west of 20° E. longitude, which might thus be regarded as the eastern limit of German South-west Africa. While in England itself these arrangements met with general approval, and even sympathy, they naturally excited dissatisfaction at the Cape; a dissatisfaction all the more bitter that the Cape Government felt that it had mainly itself to blame for what had happened. Meantime it may be stated that it was only in 1884 that Walfish Bay was formally annexed to Cape Colony. In the spring of 1885 Lüderitz made over all his claims to a German South-west Africa Association; and shortly thereafter an Imperial Commissioner was appointed to the new colony. By this time the British Government, in whose term of office these momentous events had taken place,

had (9th June 1885) given place to that of Lord Salisbury, which had during its years of office a not less trying part to play in connection with the partition of Africa. But this brings us far beyond the date of the Berlin Congress, and the events with which this chapter is concerned. Before dealing with that Congress let us state briefly what Germany had accomplished in other parts of Africa before it met.

Attempt to annex St. Lucia Bay.

Herr Lüderitz, flushed, no doubt, with his success on the West Coast, made, towards the end of 1884, a strenuous attempt through his representative, Herr Einwold, to flank British South Africa with a German colony and harbour on the East Coast. The relations between the Transvaal Government and Germany were at this time particularly friendly, and the possession of a port by Germany from which a railway could run to the Transvaal seemed in the highest degree desirable. As early as September 1884 propositions were made by Herr Einwold to obtain possession of St. Lucia Bay on the coast of Zululand, and he notified his intention to Bismarck. He entered Zululand in November, and succeeded in obtaining some concessions from Dinizulu. But by this time both the Home and the Cape Governments were thoroughly awake. News of Herr Einwold's doings leaked out, and on 18th December H.M.S. *Goshawk* proceeded to St. Lucia Bay and hoisted the British flag in virtue of a treaty with Panda as far back as 1843. There was, of course, the inevitable correspondence between the two Governments, questions in Parliament, and excitement in the press, ending (25th June 1885) by a declaration on the part of Germany

that she would make no annexations in East Africa south of Delagoa Bay.

German traders on the West Coast.

It has been pointed out in a previous chapter that during the 17th and 18th, and even well on into the 19th centuries, the commercial activity of Europe in Africa was mainly devoted to the Guinea Coast, to the region extending from the Senegal to the Congo; and that the staple export during that period consisted of slaves. After the cessation of slave export the European powers lost interest in the region. The Danes and Dutch quitted it altogether. The English carried on their four colonies in a half-hearted way; though the French, after the middle of the century, continued steadily to advance their interests along the coast and into the interior. Still, those commercial houses which continued to engage in the trade of the Guinea Coast, realised great profits. In return for a few yards of cheap cottons, a few trinkets, obsolete guns, or the vilest and cheapest of spirits, enormous returns were obtained in oil and oil nuts, ivory, gold-dust, and other native products. The German traders, who, like the Chinese, will grow rich where an Englishman would starve, and who, as we have seen, after the re-formation of the empire, developed increasing activity abroad, did not overlook the neglected West Coast. Forty years ago German and Swiss missions established themselves on the Guinea Coast, and German commercial houses had agencies in the British Gold Coast Colony. After 1880, however, when the colonial spirit was gaining in strength and German foreign trade was increasing by leaps and bounds, the relations of Germany with the coast became more and

more intimate. Between the patch on the West Coast, known as Portuguese Guinea, and the British colony of Sierra Leone, lies a strip of coast now known as the French colony of Rivières du Sud. On this coast several German factories had been established and a considerable trade developed by 1884. One patch of this coast lying between the Dembra and Dubreka rivers was supposed not to have been actually occupied by France, and there German operations were concentrated and German influence established. On the Lower Guinea Coast extending from the boundary of Liberia to the colony of Lagos were several patches, which were regarded as No-man's-land; France had ancient claims to a part of the coast on the west of the British Gold Coast Colony, and two other patches, somewhat ill defined, between that colony and the colony of Lagos. At various points on this stretch of coast, both in British and French spheres, German factories and German missions had been established. There was one small patch of some thirty miles on the east of the Gold Coast Colony, where at Bagida, Porto Seguro, Little Popo, and other places, German stations had been established since 1880, and trade treaties made with the native chiefs. On the east of these, at Agoue and Great Popo, similar enterprises had been carried out; for although the French had some old claims to the coast it was practically unoccupied. When, in 1883, German colonial enterprise began to take a distinctly practical turn, German factories and commercial agents, as well as trade consuls, had been established, not only on the British Gold Coast, but on

the unannexed portions to the east. Here, and in other parts of Africa, England had only to put out her hand and take what territory she wanted; her colonial officials were being constantly besieged by petitions from native chiefs for annexation. But until the Germans entered the field, *nolo episcopari* seems to have been the motto of our Government so far as Africa was concerned. It was only when the proffered gifts seemed likely to be snatched by others that our eyes were opened to their value, and we made unseemly haste to grab them; too late unfortunately in certain cases, though after all we have fared better than we deserve.

**British influence on the West Coast.**

Again, between the eastern boundary of the colony of Lagos and the French colony of the Gaboon (the Rio Campo), including the extensive Niger delta (the Oil Rivers) and the Cameroons, German houses had been establishing factories, and drawing to themselves a fair share of trade. The British connection with the region had been growing in closeness and importance for a century. British explorers had done more than those of any other nation to open up the Coast region and the whole of the country watered by the Niger and Benué. Although Dr. Barth was a German, his expedition was purely British. In the Oil Rivers and the Cameroons British missionaries and British traders had held supreme influence for many years, and thirty years ago Burton raised the British flag in the magnificent Cameroons Mountains. For years the chiefs along the coast had been petitioning British Consuls, British Ministers, and even the Queen herself, to take them under Her Majesty's protection; but, as a rule, these

petitions were unanswered. So long ago as August 1879 five of the Cameroons "kings" wrote as follows to the Queen:

"We, your servants, have joined together and thought it better to write you a nice long letter which will tell you about all our wishes. We wish to have your laws in our territories. We want to have every fashion altered; also we will do according to your Consul's word. Plenty wars here in our country. Plenty murder, and plenty idol-worshippers. Perhaps these lines of our writing will look to you as an idle tale. We have spoken to the English Consul plenty times about having an English Government here. We never have answer from you, so we wish to write to you ourselves. When we knew about Calabar River, how they have all English laws in their towns, and how they have put away all their superstitions, oh, we shall be very glad to be like Calabar River."

England's dilatory action.

Communications of similar import and tone continued to be sent home; and from the English residents in the Cameroons, backed by the British Consul, urgent requests were sent to the Home Government advising annexation. But until the information reached the Foreign Office in July 1883 that a French vessel had been in the Kwa Kwa river and the Malimba river cajoling the native chiefs into signing treaties, the policy of the British Government was one of procrastination. Even then no haste was manifested in securing one of the most desirable regions on the West Coast to British influence. It was only in the end of 1883 that the Foreign and Colonial Offices concluded between them

that it would be desirable to place the Oil Rivers and the Cameroons, including the Baptist Mission that had been established there for many years, under British protection. It was not until 16th May 1884 that Consul Hewett was instructed to return to his post in West Africa and make preparations for declaring a British protectorate over part of it, for the Cameroons chiefs were to be "asked to undertake that they will, if required, cede such portions of their territories as it may be thought desirable to acquire." On the 6th of July Consul Hewett was in the Bonny river. He purposed visiting the Benin and other rivers, as well as the Cameroons, but could not give the commander of Her Majesty's vessel in which he was to sail any exact date for his visit.

**Germany takes action.**

Meanwhile the Germans were losing no time. The recommendations of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce in the end of 1883 have been already referred to. The annexation of a part of the coast opposite Fernando Po was part of the programme which they recommended to Bismarck. On 20th April 1884, about one month before Consul Hewett received his instructions, Lord Granville at the Foreign Office received the following communication from the German Chargé d'Affaires in London:

"I have the honour to state to your Lordship that the Imperial Consul-General, Dr. Nachtigal, has been commissioned by my Government to visit the West Coast of Africa in the course of the next few months in order to complete the information now in the possession of the Foreign Office at Berlin on the state of

German commerce on that coast. With this object Dr. Nachtigal will shortly embark at Lisbon on board the gunboat *Möwe*. He will put himself into communication with the authorities in the English possessions on the said coast, and is authorised to conduct, on behalf of the Imperial Government, negotiations connected with certain questions. I venture, in accordance with my instructions, to beg your Excellency to be so good as to cause the authorities in the British possessions in West Africa to be furnished with suitable recommendations."

The Chargé d'Affaires was assured that the British colonial authorities should be enjoined to give all possible assistance to the eminent German Consul-General. On the same day the Foreign Office received information of a strong anti-English pro-colonial article in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which might have aroused their suspicions as to Dr. Nachtigal's movements, especially when combined with the events taking place at Angra Pequeña, where already Lüderitz had hoisted the German flag. Still the necessity for prompt measures was not realised at Downing Street.

The Dubreka river.

On 1st June 1884 the *Möwe*, with Dr. Nachtigal on board, accompanied by the *Elizabeth*, anchored off the Los Islands (British), and two days later the German Consul-General went in a steam pinnace to the Dubreka river, where, as we have seen, German factories had been established. Palavers were held with the chiefs, but nothing definite was done, as there was a suspicion of French claims. Other German expeditions were however in the following months sent to the coast, and the

German flag was even hoisted over the station. But on the representations of the French Government Prince Bismarck gracefully gave way here, as he did elsewhere, averring that he would never seek to encroach on any territory to which France might show the slightest claim, or even preference. Bismarck's delicacy towards French susceptibilities was in all these doings and negotiations in marked contrast to his bluff and uncompromising treatment of the British Government.

**Togoland declared a German protectorate.**

Dr. Nachtigal proceeded southwards to the little patch east of the Gold Coast already referred to, and now known as Togoland. It was, unfortunately, considerably to the east of the old Brandenburg settlement at Cape Three Points, so that sentiment could have no part to play in what followed. At eight different places on this coast there were German factories. In January 1884 a German gunboat had touched at the coast and taught the natives that the Germans as well as the English had big ships to look after their interests. Some of the natives, indeed, were deported to Berlin and were brought back, doubtless greatly impressed with the power of Germany. On 2nd July the *Möwe*, with Dr. Nachtigal on board, drew up in front of the settlement of Little Popo. Other places were visited, and after arranging matters with M'lapa, King of Togoland, the German flag was raised at Bagida on 5th July, and Togoland declared a German Protectorate. Other sections of the coast were annexed at later dates. But serious differences threatened to arise between Germany and France, the latter claiming sovereignty over certain parts within the sphere annexed by

Germany. The two Governments, however, did not find much difficulty in coming to an agreement, though it was not till December 1885 that it was arranged to draw the boundary line between Little Popo and Agoue.

The Cameroons.

After placing Togoland under the protection of the German flag, Dr. Nachtigal steamed onwards in the *Möwe* towards the Cameroons. Here the ground had been prepared for him. At midnight meetings with King Bell and other potentates in the Cameroons River, the four German traders settled in the place succeeded in winning their way to the heart of these thirsty chiefs by lavish promises of rum and guns and money. As these chiefs had received no replies from the British Government to their repeated requests for annexation, and as these Germans appealed to their weakest side, it is no wonder that they concluded that a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush. There can be little doubt that on the whole they would have preferred British to German domination, and they very soon regretted the promises made in a weak moment; but unlimited rum was what they coveted above all, and the temptation offered by the German traders was more than they could resist. Commander Moore, in the *Goshawk*, visited the Cameroons River on 10th July and had a palaver with King Bell and some of the other chiefs. He found that the German negotiations had been far advanced, but that no treaty had been actually signed, though the chiefs were tired of waiting for a reply to their repeated communications to the British Government. Had Consul Hewett been on board and then and there concluded treaties with the

chiefs, the Cameroons might have been saved to England. All Commander Moore could do was to beg the chiefs to sign nothing till the Consul arrived. King Bell promised, but hoped the Consul would come soon—"within a week." It was not, however, till the 19th that the Consul arrived, only to find that treaties had been completed with the chiefs by Dr. Nachtigal, and that the German flag had been floating conspicuously over the place for five days. All he could do was to place the Mission Station of Victoria in Ambas Bay under British protection. Dr. Nachtigal proceeded southwards, raising the German flag over various points of the coast, even beyond the Rio Campo, and so intruding upon the French sphere. As Bismarck, however, was always inclined in his search for colonies to be particularly complacent towards France, the difficulty was easily settled; and the Rio Campo was recognised as the southern limit of German annexation.

Annexation by Germany.

Meantime Consul Hewett had been thoroughly roused to the seriousness of the situation, and lost no time in making treaties all along the coast from Victoria to the colony of Lagos, thus securing the Oil Rivers and the mouth of the Niger. There was, of course, great excitement both in England and Germany. There was naturally jubilation in Germany over the success of the smart policy of Bismarck, while in England reproaches were freely heaped upon the Ministry of the time for their blindness, prevaricating policy, and indifference to British interests. Lord Granville naïvely reproached Prince Bismarck for intentionally misleading him as to the real purpose of Dr. Nachtigal's mission, while Bis-

The Oil Rivers secured to England.

Feeling in Germany and England.

marck taunted Granville for his want of penetration, and maintained that his little deception was perfectly justifiable. Had he frankly informed the British Government as to his designs, they would of course have done their best to forestall him. The only excuse for the Ministry of the period is that at the time few people even in Germany had any belief in Bismarck's intentions of acquiring colonies; only a few shrewd statesmen, like Sir Bartle Frere, had a perception of future trouble with Germany in this respect. Still, when the mission of Dr. Nachtigal was looked at in the light of the Angra Pequeña correspondence, it does seem strange that the British Ministry made no more haste than they did to secure all the points which they considered it desirable that England should possess. But the new Imperial spirit had hardly then been born, and there still lurked in the minds of a certain school of politicians an aversion to increase "England's responsibilities." Moreover, it should be remembered by way of palliation that Germany was toying with France in order to embarrass our position in Egypt.

Bismarck's part.

As to the part played by Prince Bismarck, his attitude with respect to the Cameroons was in marked contrast to his seemingly forbearing, patient, and courteous conduct in the Angra Pequeña affair. Possibly that affair may have worn out his patience, or it may be that he valued the Cameroons more highly, and did not want to run any risk. That he deliberately misled the British Foreign Office as to the real object of Dr. Nachtigal's mission is apparent; but as he was

engaged in a diplomatic war against England, he no doubt considered such deception justifiable. Further, the Prince considered that in his colonial aspirations in Africa and the South Seas he had received great provocation from England. The courtesy between France and Germany in connection with these operations was that of enemy to enemy; the bitterness which sprang up between England and Germany was probably due to the mutual feeling that the one side could not afford to make an enemy of the other.

In the Cameroons, as elsewhere in Africa, we fared better than we deserved. Though we had to give up the whole coast at the base of the Cameroons mountains as far as the Rio del Rey—Bismarck accused us of trying to shut out the new German colony from the interior—we have been fortunate enough to be able to secure the whole of the Niger Delta and all the coast from the Rio del Rey to the boundary of Lagos. Germany had some trouble with King Bell and his friends before they became reconciled to the new state of things; and, as has been the case in most of Germany's colonial enterprises, one of her first tasks was to give the chiefs and people a "sharp lesson." By the time the Berlin Congress met she was fairly in possession at the Cameroons, as well as in Togoland and South-west Africa. She had thus begun the "scramble for Africa," had entered upon that game, some rules for which it was partly the design of the Congress to lay down.

# CHAPTER XIV

## THE BERLIN CONFERENCE AND THE CONGO FREE STATE

A Conference necessary—Origin and purpose of the Conference—The General Act—Rule as to effective occupation—Creation of the Congo Free State—The reversion to France—King Leopold becomes sovereign of the State—The Free State made over to Belgium—Boundaries of the Free State—Great things expected of the Free State—Becomes a purely Belgian undertaking—Disappointed traders—Exploring activity—Administration—Abuses—Missions—Trade—Slow development of trade—What the State has done: its future.

A Conference necessary.

FOLLOWING the example of Germany, the other great European powers made a rush upon Africa. Inextricable difficulties were sure to arise unless some rules were laid down on which the great game of scramble was to be conducted. Germany had already made important acquisitions on the West Coast, and England and France had made haste to snatch up the remainder. France and Portugal were struggling with the King of the Belgians on the Congo, while Portugal was beginning to be alarmed as to her claims on other parts of the continent. Great Britain had received a severe lesson at Angra Pequeña, and had at last been aroused to take measures for securing to herself the region which lies on the north of Cape Colony. Already there were agitations as to German

interests in Zanzibar. The great struggle, however, it was seen, would be round the centre of the continent, and it would be for the advantage of all concerned that an understanding should be come to as to whether it was to be divided up into exclusive sections, or whether it was to be open to all nationalities, whatever might be their share of the rest of the continent after the scramble was over.

**Origin and purpose of the Conference.**

It has been seen already that Bismarck strenuously objected to the Anglo-Portuguese arrangement as to the coast at the mouth of the Congo; he would never consent to the key to such an important highway being placed in the hands of Portugal. The arrangement was, indeed, received with such determined opposition by the Powers, that it had to be dropped, and curiously enough the proposal for an International Conference to consider the whole question of the Congo came from Portugal herself. France endorsed the proposal, which was cordially taken up by Bismarck on behalf of Germany. This was in June 1884, and a month later Lord Granville gave in his adhesion on behalf of Great Britain. These three Powers agreed in principle to the creation of a Free State in the basin of the Congo, the precise limitations of which were, however, to be left to separate agreements between the Powers directly interested. The great purpose then of the Berlin Conference was to come to an understanding with reference to the Congo basin. It was also agreed to make some arrangement with reference to the Niger, and to fix the conditions under which new annexations would be recognised as valid by other Powers.

Into the details of the Conference it is unnecessary to enter. Its discussions and protocols occupy a voluminous Blue Book. It began its meetings in Berlin on 15th November 1884, and concluded them on 30th January 1885. Every State of Europe except Switzerland sent one or more representatives, as did the United States of America. The General Act of the Conference was signed by the representatives of all the Powers except the United States on 24th February 1885. Mr. Stanley was present, nominally as a geographical expert on behalf of the United States, but in reality to look after the interests of his patron, the King of the Belgians.

The General Act.

The General Act of the Conference enacted freedom of trade to all nations within the region watered by the Congo and its affluents, including the coast of the Atlantic from 2° 30′ N. lat. to 8° S. lat. The Free Trade Line was further prolonged on the north to the East Coast at 5° N. lat., and down that coast to the mouth of the Zambesi; up the Zambesi to five miles above the mouth of the Shiré, and onwards along the watershed between the Zambesi and Lake Nyassa to the watershed between the Zambesi and the Congo. This eastern extension, however, was only to be effective if agreed to by the sovereign States having jurisdiction in the regions included therein. Only such dues were to be levied as would compensate expenditure in the interests of trade; no differential duties were permitted, and all rivers were to be free to the flags of all nations. After a lapse of twenty years the subject of import duties could be reconsidered. The

Powers were to combine to suppress the slave-trade and slavery. An International Navigation Commission was instituted to ensure facilities of navigation on the Congo, and to carry out the provisions of the Conference with reference to the river and its affluents. This conventional basin of the Congo was to remain neutral under all circumstances. Only certain fixed navigation dues were to be charged, and these could be revised at the end of five years. These then were the principal provisions with regard to the Congo.

Essentially the same conditions as regards navigation were applied to the Niger and its tributaries, although these regions were outside the operation of the rules affecting the free trade zone. Instead of an International Commission being appointed to carry out the conditions, their execution was entrusted to Great Britain and France in respect of those sections of the river which might come under their sovereignty or protection. There was to be perfect freedom of navigation to the ships of all nations; "No exclusive privilege of navigation will be conceded to Companies, Corporations, or private persons." The navigation of the Niger was not to be "exposed to any obligation in regard to landing-stage or depôt, or for breaking bulk or for compulsory entry into any port." At the same time it was to be understood "that nothing in these obligations shall be interpreted as hindering Great Britain from making any rules of navigation whatever which shall not be contrary to the spirit of their engagements."

Rule as to effective occupation

Other declarations were included in the work of this remarkable Congress; it laid down the im-

portant rule which was to guide the Powers in the great game of the Partition of Africa. Occupations on the Coast of Africa in order to be valid must be effective, and any new occupation on the coast must be formally notified to the Signatory Powers for the purpose of enabling them if need be to make good any claim of their own. In Article 6 there is also notice made for the first time in any International Act of the obligation attaching to spheres of influence —a mode of tenure soon destined to play such an important part.

Creation of the Congo Free State.

These, then, were the chief provisions of the famous "General Act of the Conference of Berlin." To what extent they have been carried out will be seen in the sequel. But while the main drama, if we may so speak, was being enacted in the Conference Hall, Prince Bismarck's Palace, there was a complicated side-play going on, which though not formally acknowledged, had very intimate bearings on the main subject, and was indeed pregnant with even greater results. This was, in fact, the creation of the Congo Free State. We have seen how the magnificent projects initiated by the King of the Belgians at the Brussels Conference of 1876 had rapidly developed. There was the International African Association for scientific and benevolent purposes; this was followed by the Comité d'Études, which became the International Congo Association. Although not actually recognised as such, it really assumed the form of a loosely-organised State, and as early as April 1884 Sir Francis de Winton (failing General Gordon) went out as Governor. On the 22nd April 1884, the United

States Government recognised the flag of the Association (a blue flag with a golden star), "as that of a friendly government." On the day after the recognition, in a moment of irritation against the British Government, Colonel Strauch, the President of the Association, intimated to the French Government that if the Association were ever compelled to part with its possessions, France should have the right of preference in purchasing them. Of course in all these transactions the King of the Belgians was the moving power, and in effect he was the International Association, which depended almost entirely upon His Majesty for funds. There can be no doubt that the King soon came to regret having accorded to France this right of reversion, and three years later His Majesty tried to explain that he did not mean it. A week before the Berlin Congress met, Germany followed the example of the United States, and after laying down certain conditions as to freedom of trade, and the rights and privileges to be accorded to German subjects, recognised the flag of the Association as that of a friendly State, and intimated her readiness to recognise the frontier of the Association and of the New State to be created as indicated in a map joined to the Declaration. The map indicates the boundaries of the State in the main as they were subsequently recognised by France and Portugal, with the exception of a few modifications introduced to satisfy those Powers. This declaration was followed by similar declarations on the part of the other powers, the last to give its adhesion being Belgium (23rd February 1885). In

The Reversion to France.

the agreements between the Association and France and Portugal, the boundaries of the territory of the Association were defined, though these were afterwards subject to modifications on the spot. In the various declarations the Association was recognised as the administrator of the various "Free States established or to be established" in the Congo basin: as a matter of fact the Association was commuted into the one Congo Free State, which so far has been founded on the river. The Association itself signed the General Act as an independent power. The various agreements in which the Association had been recognised and the delimitations embodied therein were included in the protocols of the final sitting, and so received the sanction of the Conference itself.

**King Leopold becomes sovereign of the State.**

It was not till two months after the conclusion of the Conference (April 30, 1885) that the Belgian legislature authorised King Leopold to be the chief of the State founded in Africa by the Congo International Association. "The union between Belgium and the New State will be exclusively personal." On the 1st of August following, King Leopold addressed a notification to all the Powers intimating that the possessions of the International Association of the Congo were henceforth to form the Congo Free State of which His Majesty would be chief under the title of Sovereign. At the same time the neutrality of the State was declared.

**The Free State made over to Belgium.**

Though anticipating events, it may be appropriate here to state that King Leopold in his will, dated 2nd August 1889, made Belgium heir to the sovereign rights of the Congo Free State. Further, on 3rd July

1890, His Majesty made an agreement with the Belgian Government according to which the latter consented to advance a loan of twenty-five million francs, in the course of ten years, on condition that, six months after the expiry of that period, Belgium could annex the Free State. Should Belgium decline the annexation, the Free State is bound to pay back the loan (which bears no interest) in the course of another ten years. By a codicil to the King's will, dated 21st July 1890, it is declared that the Free State cannot be alienated—though it is doubtful if this affects the right of pre-emption primarily held by France.

**Boundaries of the Free State.**

Here, then, we have what may be regarded as the first substantial result of the scramble for Africa. It was not, however, until many conferences, negotiations, and compromises had taken place that the precise limits of the Free State claimed in 1885 were recognised by neighbouring Powers. Portugal still fondly clung to 5° 12′ S. lat. as her northern limit, but she was compelled to abandon it and content herself with the patches of Molemba, Cabinda, and Massabi, on the north of the Congo mouth. On the other hand, her Angola colony was pushed northwards to the south bank of the Congo, which she was allowed to appropriate as far as Nokki, 130 miles from the mouth. Thence the delimiting line went eastwards to the Kwango, which it followed up to about 8° south. It then turned eastwards with a bend northwards, to the Kassai, which it followed south through the heart of the old kingdom of the Mwata Yanvo (by an agreement of 1891). From the bend of the Kassai the line claimed by the Congo State winds eastwards

between the water-parting of the Congo and Zambesi to Lake Bangweolo and up to Lake Moero and the west shore of Lake Tanganyika. The eastern boundary of the Free State then turns almost direct north along 30° E. long. to 4° N. lat.; part of these limits so claimed still remains open to discussion with Great Britain. It was only after the solution of many difficult geographical points that the northern limit was settled with France. The Association had at an early period to part with all its stations on the Kwilu (north of the Congo) to France. The Free State, however, secured an irregular block on the north bank of the Congo, from its mouth to about 300 miles up the river. France then claims the north bank of the river as far as the Mobangi, which becomes the common boundary between the French Congo territory and the Free State, until in tracing it eastwards the river strikes the fourth parallel north, which forms the northern boundary, until it meets the eastern limit. The above would give the Congo Free State the enormous area of almost 870,000 square miles, with a population which at a guess may amount to 14,000,000 of savages.

It must be said that quite recently the sovereign of the Free State has shown dissatisfaction with the 4° limit on the north, maintaining that this State, like any other state, is at liberty to extend its dominions. France and England strenuously object to this where it affects them. But expeditions from the Congo have been sent with a view to secure a block on the west of the Albert Nyanza and the Nile. One formidable expedition, consisting of over 3000 men with a great

number of boats, under Van der Kerckhoven, began to push northwards in 1891, with a view to establish a station in the neighbourhood of Lado, within the British sphere. According to latest accounts, the expedition has actually secured a position at Lado, and has provoked an attack from the Mahdiists. But Lord Salisbury repeatedly notified the King that no annexation in that region by the Free State would be recognised, a position maintained with equal vigour by his successor Lord Rosebery.

**Great things expected of the Free State.**

Great things were expected from the foundation of the Free State, which was referred to at the time as one of the most remarkable events of the century. At the concluding sitting of the Conference the new organisation was greeted as one of the great civilising and humanitarian agencies of the nineteenth century, as the chief medium through which the work for which the Conference had been summoned would be carried out. The great object for which professedly the International Congo Association had been founded was the opening up of the interior region included in its operations to civilisation and commerce, as well as the exploration of its geography. As has been already said, we cannot doubt that the motives which actuated the King of the Belgians in entering upon this enterprise in Africa were to a certain extent disinterested. If to these motives there came in time to be added a kingly ambition to be the ruler of a million square miles of a continent previously given over to savagery and anarchy, this ambition was legitimate, for he could only reap glory and lasting reputation by ruling well.

He it was who until quite recently supplied the funds with which the enterprise was carried on, and notwithstanding the increase from other sources, his private purse is still opened to the extent of £40,000 annually. It is not, therefore, surprising that the King should wish to rule his own state in his own way, even though its international character should thus disappear, and Belgium be accorded favours not granted to other nationalities. As a matter of fact, when King Leopold assumed the sovereignty of the Free State it ceased to be international, and rapidly became an almost exclusively Belgian undertaking. The officials of other nationalities gave place with few exceptions to Belgians. In this King Leopold was compelled to yield to the wishes and remonstrances of his European subjects. It was found, moreover, that the absolute freedom of trade insisted on in the Berlin Act could not be maintained; even His Majesty's large resources were not equal to the necessary expenses of administration, and duties and taxes have had to be imposed which can hardly be said to be consistent with the spirit or the letter of the Act. Of the heavy duty which has been placed on spirits none but those interested in their sale will complain. But, however it is to be accounted for, there can be little doubt that the manner in which the imposition of duties and taxes has been carried out, and the keen competition on the part of the Belgian officials, and even of the State, with traders of other nationalities, have had the effect of compelling many of the latter to leave the territory of the State, either quitting the Congo entirely or settling upon French or

**Becomes a purely Belgian undertaking.**

**Disappointed traders.**

Portuguese territory. It would be unjust to blame the King personally for these results; he is in the hands of his officials, and it is hardly to be expected that these are all imbued with the same motives which actuate His Majesty. Besides a company for constructing a railway for the Lower Congo, past the Cataracts to Stanley Pool, there are five trading companies on the Congo, all Belgian, with a nominal capital of £360,000. It is true that in one there is some English capital, and that there are one or two English directors, but even then the Company is essentially Belgian. These Belgian companies have been latterly dealt with in much the same way as traders of foreign nationality. The restrictions placed on the trade of private companies, and the monopolies claimed by the "State," have been such as to render private enterprise almost impossible. The railway has practically come to a stop after a mile or two had been laid; and unless some relaxations are introduced, private capital may be entirely withdrawn, and the State become the sole trader: a state of things which can only lead to commercial disaster. More recently the indiscreet conduct of the Free State officers has roused some of the powerful Arab traders to rebellion, with disastrous results to the whites. There can be no doubt that this organisation, from which so much was expected, has reached a critical stage in its career, which can only be safely passed by a radical change in the policy of the government. In truth, a really international "State" of the kind which was originally vaguely contemplated was hardly possible at the present stage of

the world's progress; it was inevitable that with a King at its head, and the other Powers of Europe interested in Africa, each scrambling for its own hand, the Congo Free State should become a purely national enterprise. It now possesses hardly anything to distinguish it from the African colonies of France or Germany.

Exploring activity.

And yet there has been no lack of zeal on the part of the King to carry out his own aims and part at least of the objects which the Berlin Act had in view. The amount of exploring work accomplished under the auspices of the State is creditable. The whole of the Congo, at least as far as Nyangwe, has been laid down with accuracy. North and south all the great tributaries have been explored, and since 1885 nearly 6000 miles of waterway have been opened up to navigation. One great geographical problem—that of the Wellé—has been solved. A fair knowledge has been obtained of the countries watered by these magnificent rivers, and of the various tribes which inhabit them.

Administration.

Again, a regular administration has been established, and, considering the comparatively short time that has elapsed since Mr. Stanley began his work, the limited funds at the disposal of the King, the inexperience of Belgian officers, the savage nature of the country, and the ignorance of its geography, it must be admitted that there has been a certain amount of success. The administrative headquarters are in Brussels, where there are three ministerial departments and a variety of functionaries. The State is divided into twelve districts or provinces, with a governor-general and a sub-governor or commissary for each district. There are

numerous stations not only on the Congo itself but on the great tributaries north and south; the administrative staff numbering seventy officials. A system of administrative justice, criminal and civil, has been devised, with courts of first and second instance. On the Lower Congo the judges are all trained jurists; prisons have been established, and hard labour and corporal punishment introduced, as well as other means supposed to be effective in weaning the poor native from his barbarous ways. On the Upper Congo martial law is supreme. That, in the hands of inexperienced young officers, poorly paid, dealing with savages, under the influence of a tropical climate, far from the controlling influence of public opinion and the restraining hand of their superior officers, there should be abuses of the power entrusted to them, is not to be wondered at. That there have been abuses, that the natives have been at least occasionally, if not frequently, treated with great cruelty, and dealt with as slaves, there is only too much evidence to prove. We do not require to go to the Congo State for instances of the degenerating effect which savage surroundings have on even highly civilised men. Nor must it be forgotten that we can hardly deal with Africans as we do with civilised Europeans, and that if any progress is to be made at all a certain amount of compulsion must be used. But if this be so, it imposes the duty of exercising all the more care in selecting officers who will not be tempted to make this compulsion assume the form of cruelty and slavery, and so risk that breaking-up of the Free State which not a few consider to be inevitable.

Abuses.

Among the civilising influences at work in the New State we must reckon that of Christian missions—Catholic and Protestant, English, American, French and Belgian. There are many stations in various parts of the territory, and among the missionaries are a certain number of the old-fashioned, indiscreet, unpractical type; many of them, however, are men of insight and tact, who realise that there are other ways of rousing the native from his low estate besides preaching at him. There are in all about eighty missionaries. Missions.

A more or less active trade has of course been carried on, and trading centres established at various points besides those occupied by the State stations. Altogether there are now (1892) about 750 whites (there were only 254 in 1886). Of these 338 are Belgians, of whom there were only 46 in 1886. More than one-half of these whites are on the lower river; 271 are in the service of the Free State. It may be said that all the white population of the Congo are more or less directly engaged in trade, not even excluding the officials themselves, either on their own behalf or on behalf of the State. Private traders, as has been stated, complain of the increasing competition which they must submit to from the State officials, who, naturally, have great advantages over their rivals. Practically the free trade clauses of the Berlin Act are a dead letter; the Congo Free State is virtually a Belgian colony; the King has expended immense sums on the region; and he can hardly therefore be blamed for making an effort to supplement the drain on his private resources by profits Trade.

derived from the commercial development of the country. Whether such a monopolising policy is a wise one, even from a purely business point of view, is, however, doubtful. But be that as it may, the exports from the State territories have increased from £80,000 in 1887 to £321,680 in 1890, though it was only a little over £200,000 in 1891. The total commerce from the Congo basin by the river has increased from £300,000 in 1887 to £564,400 in 1890, falling to £400,000 in 1891. Nearly one-half of the total comes from the possessions of France and Portugal. Of the exports from the territory of the Free State nearly one-half are from the Lower Congo.

As yet the exports from the Congo are almost exclusively the natural products of Central Africa, viz. ivory, caoutchouc, palm nuts, palm oil, and coffee. Ivory contributes quite one-half of the total exports from the Free State territories. The export of palm nuts and oil in 1890 amounted to £150,000. Of caoutchouc only £22,000 worth came from the Free State, while nearly four times the amount are the produce of French and Portuguese Congo. So with coffee; of the £68,000 worth exported by the Congo in 1890, only £3500 worth can be credited to the Free State. All these items were lower in 1891.

**Slow development of trade.**

Thus, though the trade of the Free State and the whole of the Congo basin has certainly increased by a large percentage during the last five years, it is still insignificant. So far, only the natural products of tropical Africa have been dealt with; practically nothing has been done to develop the capabilities of the

soil, except perhaps on a small scale around the various stations. Such mineral resources as may exist in the Congo region have not been touched. It is only those who fancy that Africa can be transformed into a Europe or an India in a decade that would have expected more. The natural resources of the basin are plentiful enough to yield valuable returns to modest commercial enterprises for many years; but to keep up the expensive machinery of a state, and support an endless series of exploring expeditions, these natural resources will have to be worked on a much larger scale than has hitherto been done. The annual outlay of the Free State is £200,000, and it is constantly increasing. Even were the profits accruing from the whole of the Free State trade the perquisite of the King, they would hardly suffice to meet the outlay; as a matter of fact but a small proportion of them go to the credit of the State. The King of the Belgians professed not, it is true, to enter upon his great enterprise from purely commercial motives, but it is obvious that there is a limit even to His Majesty's finances. It is impossible therefore to blame him for endeavouring, through the Brussels Congress of 1890, to so far modify the Berlin Act as to be permitted to levy duties on imports as well as exports, nor for adopting other means—house-taxes, trading-licenses, etc.—of raising a revenue. If the organisation of a state is to be carried out, it of course involves expenditure; and the profits on Central African trade are so enormous that they can well afford to yield a percentage in return for the security which a state is supposed to afford. It might

conceivably have been more profitable for all concerned had the development of the Free State been entrusted to a great Chartered Company similar to the Royal Niger Company. But this would have defeated the great object which the King had in view in entering upon African enterprise; he reaps his reward in realising that he is the active head and moving spirit of a gigantic undertaking which he believes is destined to form a great civilised state in Central Africa. Already we have seen the Congo Railway Company is making a line from the lower to the upper river, though progress is lamentably slow. The Company has a capital of a million sterling. That such a railway would be beneficial in many ways can hardly be doubted, but it will require much more than a million sterling to complete 250 miles, and even when in operation it can hardly be expected to pay without a very great increase in the present trade. The difficulty in obtaining adequate native labour for this railway is so great that (November 1892) the Company has been compelled to import 540 Chinese coolies. There are a few isolated Chinamen in South Africa; but the Congo Free State has the distinction of being the first to try the experiment of substituting Chinese for native labour.

**What the State has done.**

While then the dreams of the Berlin Congress have vanished, and the Great International Free State has lapsed into a Belgian colony, while many mistakes have been made and crimes against humanity have been committed, while the expenditure has been lavish and the returns insignificant, while slave-raiding still

flourishes even within the boundaries of the Free State, and civilisation can hardly be said as yet to have taken root; while naturally we think it would have been better had the river fallen into British hands; yet it must be admitted that on the whole there has been some progress, or at least change. The change in the fifteen years that have elapsed since Stanley ran the gauntlet from Nyangwe to Boma has been marvellous. It is a disgrace to civilised humanity that in this stage of the world's progress a whole continent should still be given over to savagery; and with all its defects the Congo Free State has taken at least a short step to remove the reproach. The Free State may not continue to exist under its present organisation. It may be broken up into several states, or may be divided among several Powers; but, whatever may be its fate in this respect, it cannot stand still, and it cannot go back. The more it is opened up to the view of civilised humanity, the better it will be for the conduct of its affairs, and for the interests of the natives. It will certainly be looked back to in the future as one of the most remarkable outcomes of the modern contact between Europe and Africa; while its royal founder will be reckoned among the most enterprising, ambitious, and well-meaning Kings of the century.

Its future.

# CHAPTER XV

## GERMAN EAST AFRICA

Germany and East Africa—British suspicion aroused—Rohlfs's mission—Karl Peters—Founds a new society—A secret expedition to East Africa—Treaty-making—The German East Africa Company—The first German charter—Sir John Kirk—Friendly attitude of the British Government—Extent of Sultan's dominions—Relations of Germany and England—British projects in East Africa—Initiation of the British East Africa Company—The Sultan protests—Witu—Harmony between England and Germany—A delimitation commission—Extent of territory allotted to the Sultan—Spheres of influence—Limits of German sphere—The Sultan's position—Boundary between German and Portuguese territories—The Tungi Bay incident—Fresh difficulties between England and Germany—Development of the German sphere—Germany leases the Sultan's strip—An administration established—Results of the German administration—A rebellion organised—Wissmann appointed Imperial Commissioner—Insurrection subdued—Sultan's rights bought—The Imperial administration—German military methods—Confidence restored—Expeditions to the interior—Arrangements between Germany and England.

**Germany and East Africa.**

THE fact that the Conference had been convened at Berlin to settle the rules of the game of scramble was not regarded by those taking part in it as a sufficient reason for holding their hands. Even while it was sitting, Germany was making inroads into a region which Great Britain regarded as peculiarly her own. The successful result of the operations in West Africa intensified the Colonial feeling in Germany, and filled the more active spirits with impatience for further

annexations. It has already been seen that, as far back as 1865, Kersten, one of the survivors of the unlucky Von der Decken expedition, strongly urged the annexation by Germany of the region lying to the south of the river Jub in East Africa. Years before that, Hamburg trade had found a footing at Zanzibar and, according to German authorities, it exceeded that of all other European Powers, and was second only to the trade carried on by British Indians. Again in 1875 Vice-Admiral Lurniss, in a communication to the German Admiralty, urged that Zanzibar should be taken under German protection. Three years later, as has been seen, the Sultan was persuaded to offer to cede the fiscal administration of his territories to England through Sir (then Mr.) William Mackinnon; but although the treaty was actually drawn up, our Government threw difficulties in the way, and eventually the scheme was thwarted. The Sultan's influence, if not rule, extended, nominally at least, from the river Jub on the north to Cape Delgado on the south, and included all the islands on the coast. There can be no doubt also that his influence extended far into the interior; his commands were obeyed even at Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, and at Nyassa. Meantime trade was increasing steadily at Zanzibar; where British influence was still predominant, and the British Indian traders, both Hindu and Mohammedan, of whom thousands were settled on the island, and on the coasts, were a powerful factor in the Sultanate. Again, in 1879 Ernst von Weber, one of the most strenuous of German colonial pioneers, in an address to the *Central Verein für Handelsgeographie*,

drew attention to the river Jub, and the desirability of Germany acquiring a territorial footing in the Zanzibar region; in this respect reiterating the views enunciated by Gerhard Rohlfs about the same time.

**British suspicion aroused.**

Thus it will be seen that the attention of the German colonial party was directed to East Africa at a much earlier period than to West Africa, though active operations began in the latter. Suspicion was aroused at the British Foreign Office in the autumn of 1884, and on the 24th of November the British Minister at Berlin obtained an assurance from Prince Bismarck that "Germany was not endeavouring to obtain a protectorate over Zanzibar." But an uneasy feeling was again aroused when towards the end of the year it was known that the African explorer, Dr. Gerhard Rohlfs, was making his way by the West Coast and the Cape round to Zanzibar, to which he had been appointed German Consul-General. On January 14, 1885, Earl Granville communicated with Berlin, somewhat timidly drawing attention to this circumstance, at the same time expressing a confident belief that Germany did not mean to annex Zanzibar. The British Minister pointed out briefly the long and intimate relations of England with Zanzibar, over which she had acted as a sort of guardian and tutelary deity. Prince Bismarck's reply showed that he, or those by whom he was inspired, had mastered the history of the Zanzibar dominions, and knew how to distort it to their own ends. He knew the part which had been played by England, and was able to correct Lord Granville on some of the dates which the latter had been rash

**Rohlfs's mission.**

enough to cite. No direct statement was made as to what was the real object of Dr. Rohlfs's mission, but on 25th February Earl Granville was informed that the Consul-General was "commissioned to exert his influence" to secure freedom of commerce in the Sultan's dominions. In short, the tone of the communication from Berlin was evidently intended to induce the belief in London that Dr. Rohlfs had no other object in view than to conclude commercial treaties with the Sultan; Prince Bismarck did not see that the relations between England and Zanzibar were such as to prevent this. Such treaties had been made as far back as 1835 by America, 1839 by England, 1844 by France, and 1859 by the Hanse towns. As England had declared herself warmly on behalf of the independence of Zanzibar, and had in 1864 joined France in a declaration to this effect, she could not object to the Sultan making treaties with whom he pleased.

But the uneasy feeling was not allayed. This is clear even from the correspondence in the Blue Books which are published on the subject; but these Blue Books contain a mere selection from a vast mass of correspondence, the bulk of which is, though printed, supposed never to be seen except by the official eye. From this private and confidential correspondence it is, however, still more abundantly evident that both at Zanzibar and at Downing Street it was felt that some new German enterprise was in the air. But the British Foreign Office professed itself satisfied with the vague assurances from Berlin.

Karl Peters was in 1884 only twenty-eight years of Karl Peters.

age. He had been educated at German universities, and had resided for a considerable time in England, where he had made himself familiar with the British colonial system. On his return to Germany he threw himself with the keenest enthusiasm into the colonial movement. He is a man of naturally imperious temper and defective sympathy, and from the first seems to have been filled with a feeling of rancorous bitterness towards England. He appears to have considered every means legitimate by which he could circumvent an Englishman, whom he regarded as his natural enemy. The German Colonial Society founded by Prince Hohenlohe Langenberg, with its thousands of members, was not practical enough for his tastes; so in April 1884 he founded a rival society,—the Society of German Colonisation. This new Society, inspired by Dr. Peters, lost no time in maturing a plan of operations for further wholesale annexations. At first the idea was to annex land in South Africa for the purpose of starting an agricultural colony; but the St. Lucia Bay incident compelled the abandonment of the scheme, which met with the strongest opposition, not only from the anti-colonial press, but from the partisans of the other Society. Many practical men, including a number of capitalists, gathered round the new society, and soon it was well provided with funds. Then the attention of Dr. Peters and his friends was turned to East Africa, to the region between the coast and Lake Tanganyika, which had been the scene of active exploration for forty years, and where, as we have seen, German explorers had established stations in 1880.

Founds a new society.

The greatest secrecy was observed. It was arranged that Dr. Peters, in company with Count Joachim Pfeil, a contrast to Dr. Peters in every way, and Dr. Jühlke, who had been promoting German interests on the Pacific, should proceed quietly to Zanzibar. They gave out that they were bound for Liverpool, but unobserved, and in the disguise of mechanics, they made their way to Trieste, and, as deck passengers, thence to Zanzibar, which they reached on the 4th November 1884. After having taken counsel with the German Consul, they left the coast on 12th November, and seven days later the first "treaty" was signed with a native chief, and the German flag was hoisted at Mbuzini. Following the Wami River, the three German pioneers went on to the high land of Usagara, and treaties were rapidly negotiated with ten "independent" chiefs. On 17th December Peters was back at the coast with "treaties" which gave his Society all rights over the countries of Useguha, Nguru, Usagara, Ukami, Umvomero, and Mukondokwa, a solid block of 60,000 square miles, lying almost direct west from Bagamoyo. Dr. Peters hastened back to Berlin, where, on February 12, 1885, he founded the German East Africa Company, to whom the rights he and his colleagues had acquired were ceded. On the 27th, almost coincident with the signing of the Berlin Act, the German Emperor issued a "Schutzbrief," in which he extended his protection to the territory acquired, or which might be acquired, by the German Society of Colonisation. This is noteworthy as the first document of the kind issued by the Imperial Government; it was in fact a charter.

A secret expedition to East Africa.

Treaty-making.

The German East Africa Company.

The first German charter.

It is no secret that the unsuspecting chiefs were cajoled into appending their signatures or marks to documents which they were assured were perfectly innocent; the three Germans simply wanted the autographs of their African friends to carry back with them to Europe. But, when all is said, Karl Peters's "treaties" were probably as valid and as valuable as most of those that have been made with native chiefs by adventurers of all nationalities.

Sir John Kirk.

After the events which had taken place on the West Coast, it can hardly be said that the British Government were taken by surprise. Sir John Kirk, Livingstone's old friend and companion, had been for many years British representative at Zanzibar, and his tact, experience, firmness, and thorough knowledge of Africa and Africans, had rendered his influence with the Sultan so supreme that he had become virtual ruler of Zanzibar. Only six years before these very territories which the Germans had quietly pocketed under our nose, as it were, could have been ours for the taking, and an offer amounting to this had been actually made; at any moment Sir John Kirk had but to say the word, and the Sultan would have placed himself under British protection. After the many years during which Sir John Kirk had been riveting British influence at Zanzibar, it was a cruel task which was forced upon him by our Foreign Office:—to use all his exertions to undo what he had done, and induce the Sultan to cede to Germany not only virtually the whole of the interior, but the greater part of the coast. The orders from Downing Street were of the most peremptory

character, and Sir John's anguished remonstrances were of no avail. It was not till 28th April 1885, that the annexation was formally announced to the Sultan. The latter immediately sent a strong protest to Berlin against the appropriation of what he regarded as his territories, and later on sent similar protests to the British and American Governments. Prince Bismarck accused Sir John Kirk of instigating these protests, but Sir John replied that on the contrary he had exerted his influence to prevent the Sultan from going to Berlin himself to remonstrate. The British representative was instructed to co-operate immediately with the German Consul-General in forwarding German interests.

**Friendly attitude of the British Government.**

It was not of course the business of Prince Bismarck to inform the British Government beforehand what were his real designs on East Africa. With regard to the Sultan's claims, he pointed out that as a matter of fact the Sultan exercised no jurisdiction whatever away from the coast, and that on the latter even, between Cape Delgado and Warsheikh to the north of the Jub River, a stretch of six hundred and fifty miles, he only occupied certain points. The Berlin Act, to which, however, Zanzibar at this time was not a party, had established the doctrine that no annexation on the coast would be recognised which was not evidenced by effective occupation and the establishment of some kind of jurisdiction. The Sultan, it was maintained, had a few trading posts in the interior, but that was all; and Germany applied the same treatment to him as England a year or two later did to Portugal in the Zambesi region. That the Sultan had real dominion

**Extent of Sultan's dominions.**

all along the coast from Cape Delgado as far as Lamu, the evidence was ample, as Sir John Kirk showed in a memorandum dated 6th July 1885; further north his power was confined to a few coast towns, which, however, included the only landing-places where goods could be shipped. At Arab stations in the interior, even as far as Lake Tanganyika, his sovereignty was recognised, but beyond a certain distance from the coast there can be little doubt that Central Africa, between the coast and Lake Tanganyika, was in reality a no-man's-land.

**Relations of Germany and England.**

The worst we can say of Germany's action in the matter is that she stole a march upon us, which, according to accepted standards, can hardly be regarded as immoral, either in business or diplomacy,—in neither of which is chivalry supposed to hold a place. But even if we could have forestalled Germany in her East African annexations, would it have been wise to do so? Half the region is desert, or but little removed from it, although there is no doubt ample room for plantation settlements. Would it have been wise in England to monopolise a tropical continent which she could never colonise with her own people, and which could therefore never be a source of real strength to her? The co-operation of a nation such as Germany in the development and civilisation of the continent cannot but be to our advantage as well as to theirs. There were then, as there are now, many reasons why we should be on friendly terms with our Teutonic kinsmen; and at that particular moment the Egyptian question left the British Government with only one hand free to take part in the scramble for Central Africa. It was per-

haps then the wisest course to welcome the Germans to East Africa with more promptness than we had done in West Africa, and to instruct the British representative to co-operate unreservedly with his German colleague.

British projects in East Africa.

On 25th May 1885, Lord Granville assured Prince Bismarck that the British Government had no intention of offering any obstruction to German projects, but welcomed Germany's co-operation in developing the resources of East Africa, and in endeavouring to suppress slavery. At the same time he informed the German Chancellor that a number of English capitalists intended to undertake an important enterprise in the region between the East Coast and the Nile Lakes, which they proposed to unite by means of a railway; but the project would only receive the support of Her Majesty's Government if the latter were assured that it would in no way interfere with German designs. In these somewhat humble terms was the initiation of the Imperial British East Africa Company announced to Germany, and it is worthy of note that a railway to the Lake was one of the first projects thought of. May we give Lord Granville credit for unusual diplomatic acumen, and surmise that his real motive was to divert Bismarck's attention from a region far more valuable than that which Dr. Peters had snatched, as it were, from under the paw of the British lion?

Initiation of the British East Africa Company.

The Sultan protests.

The Sultan, however, was not inclined to resign himself to the situation so readily as the British Government. He sent his troops into Usagara to raise his flag over a region which he considered his own, and where the Germans had stolen a march upon

him, and despatched his commander-in-chief, General Mathews (an English naval lieutenant), to Mount Kilimanjaro to obtain from the chiefs their adhesion to his sovereignty, thus anticipating the Germans in this region. Various agents of the German East Africa Society (to which the Colonisation Society made over its rights) were prowling about the interior making additional treaties. They had long tried to reach Mount Kilimanjaro to promote German interests, in spite of the Sultan's mission, and notwithstanding the fact that in 1884 Mr. H. H. Johnston obtained a concession of territory there from the chief Mandara. The Sultan continued obstinate, and would not listen to the proposal for a commercial treaty made by the German Government. The good offices of Sir John Kirk were of no avail, and it was only when a formidable German squadron appeared before his palace on the 7th August 1885, and an ultimatum was presented by the commander, that (on 14th August) the Sultan intimated his recognition of certain of the German claims. Thus the crisis was safely passed. Various difficulties and protests occurred before everything was settled, but the development of German suzerainty in East Africa promised now to be steady and sure.

Witu. Meantime German annexation was proceeding apace on the coast to the north of Zanzibar—the region of which Kersten in 1867 had strongly urged the annexation by Prussia. According to German statements there was a question as to Richard Brenner (another companion of Von der Decken) having concluded a treaty on behalf of Prussia with the Sultan of Witu, a small

district north of the mouth of the Tana river. The Sultan Simbu had been compelled some years previously to leave Patta Island and take refuge on the mainland; there he had established himself among the Gallas and Somalis, and according to Consul J. G. Haggard, who visited him in August 1884, Witu was the refuge for all the "malcontents, felons, and bankrupts of the surrounding country," who lived by slave-raiding and cattle-stealing, and were a terror to the whole region. Mr. Haggard narrowly escaped being made prisoner because he declined to send the Sultan Simbu guns and ammunition. Simbu found the Germans more complaisant, and they in turn formed a high opinion of the old man, whose little kingdom seemed to them a centre of civilisation. At any rate the brothers Denhardt, on 8th April 1885, obtained a concession from the Sultan of his kingdom (500 square miles) for the Witu Company, and on 27th May it was placed under Imperial protection. Again the Sultan of Zanzibar protested, and even sent troops to the island of Lamu, but again he had to consume his wrath. When, in June 1885, Lord Salisbury succeeded to Earl Granville at the Foreign Office, a satisfactory understanding had been arrived at between the two Governments on the position generally in East Africa, and the Conservative Premier was quite as disposed as the Liberal Foreign Minister to adopt a thoroughly conciliatory attitude towards Germany's colonial schemes in East Africa. The British representative was co-operating with the German Consul-General in getting the Sultan to agree to a commercial treaty

**Harmony between England and Germany.**

which would regulate the trade between his dominions and the newly-acquired German territories; if this were accomplished, Germany would join the acknowledgment, made in 1862 by England and France, of the Sultan's independence. But first, however, it would be necessary to decide what precisely were the Sultan's dominions, and it was finally agreed to appoint a Joint Commission, with representatives of England, France, Germany, and Zanzibar, to carry out on the spot the work of delimitation. The Commissioners for the purpose were appointed by the first three countries before the end of October.

A delimitation commission.

So far as British interests are concerned, the most important part of the work of this International Commission would be the delimitation of the region in the neighbourhood of Mount Kilimanjaro. In September 1884, Mr. H. H. Johnston had obtained concessions of territory in the district of Taveta. This Mr. Johnston made over to the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and it was on the basis of this apparently that an association of British merchants were projecting a company for obtaining territory between the coast and the Victoria Nyanza, through which they purposed to construct a railway. This appears, as has been pointed out, to have been the initial stage of what has since developed into the Imperial British East Africa Company. A communication on the subject was sent to Berlin by Lord Salisbury in November 1885, and it was pointed out that the concession was several months earlier than the treaties made with General Mathews for

the Sultan or subsequently with Dr. Jühlke and his colleagues in favour of the German Company. However, it was agreed to allow all claims to lie in abeyance until the Commission was on the spot and was in a position to decide between the parties ; it being understood that neither side should seek to steal a march upon the other. But the German agents were impatient, and were pushing their way into the Kilimanjaro region. This produced a protest from the Earl of Rosebery, who had charge of foreign affairs during a few months in 1886. This protest is noteworthy for a tone of firmness and determination to support British interests, which was somewhat wanting in the correspondence of the previous eighteen months. The Commission, however, did not go very speedily to work, though by the middle of 1886 they had collected much information which was of service in enabling the German and British Governments to come to an understanding. And meanwhile a commercial treaty was arranged (August 1886) between Zanzibar, Germany, England, France, and other Powers, by which definite tariffs were substituted for the somewhat arbitrary levies that previously existed, and an agreement come to that as regards at least Great Britain and Germany all products of the interior should pay to the Sultan the fixed tariff duty on reaching his coast.

**Extent of territory allotted to the Sultan.**

At last (29th October and 1st November 1886) the British and German Governments came to a definite agreement as to the territory which would be recognised as under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzi-

bar, and to this agreement the Sultan gave his assent on 4th December. He could not choose but assent, his only caveat being that since the two Powers were taking this part of his kingdom from him and giving it to Germany, "they would protect our kingdom from being divided among them by other nations." The Earl of Iddesleigh, who had succeeded Lord Rosebery at the Foreign Office in August, carried out the negotiations with a delicate tact and firmness that kept Prince Bismarck in the best of tempers and yet retained for England a substantial share of East Central Africa.

From the centre of Tungi Bay on the south of Cape Delgado to Kipini at the mouth of the Tana river, a strip of the mainland, ten nautical miles in width, was recognised by Great Britain, Germany, and France as the Sultan's domain; as were also the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, the smaller islands within a radius of ten miles, and the islands of Lamu and Mafia. To the north of Kipini the towns of Kismayu, Brava, Meurka, and Magdoshu, with a radius of ten nautical miles round each, and Warsheikh (2° 40′ N. lat.) with a radius of five nautical miles, were left to the Sultan. The intervening strips of coast were regarded as independent, an arrangement which threatened to be disastrous to British enterprise. The Sultan gave up all claims to Kilimanjaro. Although Mr. Johnston's Kilimanjaro treaties had not been of much avail, the aspirations of the embryo British East Africa Company were to some extent satisfied by the definition of a boundary to the north of which Germany would not interfere with their "sphere of

Spheres of influence.

influence." This was a phrase which like "Hinterland" came into vogue at the time of the Berlin Conference, and designated an arrangement of great convenience in the unprecedented conditions under which a whole continent was being parcelled out. It was obvious that the enormous areas which were being allotted to the various Powers could not be occupied and developed all at once; but it was reasonable and for the benefit of all concerned that each Power should be left untrammelled within certain limits agreed upon, and that her communications in the rear should not be cut off. Unfortunately, in some cases, as will be seen, the delimitations left a loop-hole for serious misunderstandings; nor was it clear that an arrangement between two Powers was binding on other Powers not parties to it.

Limits of German sphere.

In the case of East Africa it was agreed that the northern limit of German influence and the southern limit of British influence should be defined by a line from the mouth of the river Umba or Wanga to the east and round the north side of Lake Jipe, on to midway between the territories of Taveta and Chagga, round the northern base of Mount Kilimanjaro, and thence directly north-west to the eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, at 1° S. lat. Thus practically the whole of the magnificent Kilimanjaro region, with its fertile slopes and foot-hills, was made over to Germany, a stretch of generosity on the part of the chivalrous Lord Iddesleigh which was scarcely called for. Still further restrictions were, moreover, placed on British enterprise, restrictions which very shortly

gave rise to much bitterness and threatened to shut out the British Company from the interior altogether. Although Germany undertook not to make any acquisitions north of the line just described; yet the British sphere was assigned a northern limit starting from the mouth of the Tana river, following the course of that river or its affluents to the point of intersection of the Equator and 38° of East Longitude, and thence direct to the point of intersection of 1° of North Latitude with 37° of East Longitude "where the line terminates." With Witu as a base of operations, this left Germany free to do to the British sphere what she herself protested against England doing in the Cameroons and in South-west Africa. Happily the course of events induced Germany ere long to leave England free to develop northwards.

Another important arrangement, the thin end of the wedge, indeed, for further developments on the part of Germany, permitted Zanzibar to lease to the German African Company the customs duties at the ports of Dar-es-Salaam and Pangani, in return for an annual payment to the Sultan by the Company, calculated on a percentage of returns collected, on a sliding scale.

The Sultan's position.

The strip of coast thus left to the Sultan measured some 600 miles, though when Germany first appeared on the field he claimed about 300 miles more. His "independence" was recognised by Germany in accordance with the declaration of 1862 signed by France and England; poor Burghash, had he been free to speak his mind, might have said this provision was

adding insult to injury. The whole transaction must have been humiliating both to him and to Sir John Kirk; until now they had been virtual potentates over half a million square miles of East Africa. It is not to be wondered at that Sir John did not care to retain longer a post which must have become humiliating. After serving his country's interests for years with zeal and success, so much so that Zanzibar had in reality become an appendage of England, it was, no doubt, grievous for him to see his life-work apparently fall into the lap of a foreign Power. Happily things have not turned out quite so badly as they seemed at first likely to do. It cannot be said that the revenues of the Sultan were diminished under the new arrangements. The German East Africa Company set itself with energy, intelligence, and determination to develop its extensive territories. A committee of five members, appointed for fifteen years, undertook the administration.

Boundary between German and Portuguese territory.

By an agreement between Germany and Portugal in December 1886, the southern boundary of the German sphere was marked by the course of the river Rovuma to the confluence of the river M'sinje, and thence west to the shore of Lake Nyassa. West of Lake Nyassa no definite line was at the time laid down, but Germany recognised the right of Portugal to exercise "the right of sovereignty and civilisation in the territories which separate the Portuguese possessions of Angola and Mozambique, without prejudice to the rights which other Powers may have acquired there up till now." It was easy for Germany to do this, as the

central Zambesi region was far beyond her ambitions. It may be regarded as the first explicit claim on the part of Portugal for a Trans-African Empire, a claim based on what were alleged to be purely historical grounds; for even the partisans of Portugal could not adduce any proof that she had ever exercised effective jurisdiction in the extensive area. A similar concession had been made six months before by France in the Franco-Portuguese agreement as to Senegambia and the Congo, but this is a subject which must be referred to in detail later on.

**The Tungi Bay incident.**

The agreement between Germany and Portugal as to the Rovuma gave rise to an incident which might have had more serious consequences but for the remonstrances of England and Germany. The Rovuma debouches into the Indian Ocean some distance to the north of the Minengani River and Tungi Bay, recognised in the Anglo-German arrangement as the southern boundary of the Zanzibar dominions. The Sultan, still sore no doubt at the treatment to which the two great Powers compelled him to submit, at once protested that he would not submit to be deprived by a Power like Portugal of the northern half of Tungi Bay, which had belonged to Zanzibar for generations, where he had a station and custom-house, and which had just been recognised by the three great Powers as his. Portugal, equally sore too, no doubt, at the way her claims had been ignored by the great Powers, and humiliated by the refusal of France, Germany, and England to permit her to be represented on equal terms in the Joint Commission of

delimitation, informed the Sultan that if he did not retire from Tungi Bay and give up all claim to it, he might expect the consequences to be dreadful. The Portuguese flag was hauled down at Zanzibar, and nothing less than the bombardment of the town was looked for. However, the Portuguese contented themselves with sending a squadron to Tungi Bay, seizing one of the Sultan's vessels, and bombarding for several days the villages of Tungi and Minengani, villages which a dozen sailors might have captured in a few minutes. This somewhat barbarous proceeding it is impossible to justify. The little difficulty could easily have been arranged by Germany and England, but this did not apparently suit the mood of the Portuguese at the time. Portugal had to vent her wrath on some Power, and she did it by bravely shelling a couple of unprotected villages claimed by the much-bullied Sultan of Zanzibar. The result of this insignificant affair, in which not a single Portuguese was wounded, was announced in a series of magniloquent despatches as if it had been Portsmouth and not Tungi Bay which had been the scene of operations. As those who suffered most were British Indian subjects settled on the Bay for trade, intense indignation was aroused by this act on the part of Portugal. For damage done to British subjects by the bombardment the British Government asked that some compensation might be paid. This was curtly refused, and from this date British and Portuguese relations on the east coast have been strained. To the attitude which Portugal assumed on this occasion may to a considerable extent be attributed

the uncompromising stand made by England at a later date on the Zambesi. Portugal insisted on retaining possession of Tungi Bay, but her right to it has never been recognised by England and Germany.

**Fresh difficulties between England and Germany.**

In the midst of these negotiations a difficulty arose between Germany and England which showed that the Anglo-German arrangement of 1886 had not settled everything. In the beginning of 1887 Mr. H. M. Stanley set out on his expedition for the "relief" of Emin Pasha, supposed to be beleaguered in Wadelai on the Nile, to the north of the Albert Nyanza. Mr. Stanley selected the Congo route, and it was believed would return by the east coast. The German East Africa Company took alarm, mainly because the chief mover in the relief expedition was Mr. (now Sir) William Mackinnon, and the Committee was mainly composed of men who in conjunction with Mr. Mackinnon had about the same time formed themselves into the British East Africa Company, to develop the sphere retained for British influence to the north of the Kilimanjaro line. The German Company became apprehensive that Mr. Stanley might on his return make treaties that would impinge upon the German "Hinterland," and possibly cut that Company off from Lake Tanganyika. A representation was made (July 1887) to that effect to Lord Salisbury, then in charge of the foreign interests of England. Lord Salisbury assured Prince Bismarck that he would conclude no annexations in the rear of the German sphere, and that as Germany desired she should be allowed a free hand to the south of the Victoria Nyanza. He still left the question of the

precise boundary between the English and German spheres on the west of Victoria Nyanza unsettled, and as will be seen this gave occasion for difficulties in the future. Again, to the north of Witu, German adventurers made treaties with all the "Sultans" up to near Cape Guardafui, including the strips of coast between the Sultan of Zanzibar's stations; however, these concessions were never actually taken up, and in the end, as will be seen, Germany retired altogether from the north of the Tana river.

Development of the German sphere.

The German East Africa Company, of which Dr. Peters was still the head and moving spirit, lost no time in endeavouring to reap the fruits of its treaties and of the enormous concessions which the German Government had obtained on its behalf. And here it may be noted that the German Colonisation Society, which Dr. Peters had founded as a sort of rival to the German Colonial Society, united with the latter, in the end of 1887, into one Association under the latter title. Some months before this, March 1887, the German East Africa Company had been incorporated by Imperial Charter, and was now in a position to combine the administration of its domains with territorial supremacy. During 1885 several expeditions were sent out partly to explore in various directions, and with German thoroughness to collect precise information—not only on topography, but on geology, on climate, on soil, on vegetation, such as would be of essential service to the intelligent development of the country. Branch or subordinate companies were formed, such as the East Africa Plantation Company, and the German Planters'

Company, for the special objects indicated by their names. On the Pangani and Umba rivers, and in other districts near the coast, plantations were established, and by 1888 there were some thirty stations of the kind. Houses were built, the ground cleared, coffee, tobacco, maize, and a variety of other products were cultivated, and a fair beginning of industry and trade initiated. The tobacco was actually exported to Germany, and met with a favourable reception. There was no lack of labour for wages, and when a bargain was made with the natives, the German planters kept the latter stringently to it. At the same time it was admitted by the Germans themselves that slave labour was largely employed by them. Indeed, many German writers, of whom the late Dr. Fischer was one, maintained that compulsion was necessary and justifiable in dealing with Africans, such compulsion, for example, as is exercised in the Dutch East India Colonies. But the English missionaries nevertheless felt themselves at liberty to advise the natives to deal confidently with the Germans. The English mission stations were carried on as before, while the missionary societies of Germany, Catholic and Protestant, zealously joined in the work.

**Germany leases the Sultan's strip.**

By this time, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the British East Africa Company had begun operations and had leased from the Sultan the strip of coast over which his authority was recognised between the German territory and the Tana. The German Company decided to follow the example, and succeeded in making the Sultan Khalifa, who in March

1888 had succeeded on the death of his brother Burghash, lease to them for fifty years the whole of the coast territory from the Rovuma to the Umba, thus giving them the command of seven ports and three roadsteads. The German Company were to have the sole administration of the district and the collection of the customs, which under certain conditions were to be paid over to the Sultan. Dr. Peters had by this time ceased to direct the Company's affairs at Zanzibar, and under the new regime there was a much closer connection between the Company's officials and the German Consulate. A school for the study of the Swahili language was at once established at Berlin, and energetic measures taken for the Germanising of the whole of the coast towns. A staff of some sixty officials was sent out to carry on the new administration. The stations established in the interior by Dr. Peters were to be abandoned or given over to the missionaries; to the Company they were a source of great loss and weakness. A military force was to be trained and distributed on the coast region, and additional customs stations were to be established. Herr Vohsen, the new administrator, informed the British Consul-General, Colonel (now Sir) Euan Smith, who had succeeded Sir John Kirk, that the German Company would follow very closely the example of the British Company, and would not move into the interior unless the latter sought to do so. Stringent measures were to be taken to discourage the slave-trade carried on by the Arabs in Central Africa, and for this purpose, steps would be taken to regulate or stop the importation

An administration established.

of arms. In short, great things were expected to be the result of the new departure.

Results of the German administration.

It must be said that the British Consul-General expressed to the Directors of the German Company his fear that, unless great caution were exercised in effecting the transfer from the Sultan's to the German administration, the consequences might be serious, as the powerful Arab traders and chiefs could not but regard the new regime with suspicion, as they imagined that it might seriously interfere with their peculiar trade. Sir Euan Smith's fears were only too speedily justified. The German officials took over administration on the 16th of August 1888; and on the 21st the British Consul-General telegraphed to London that disturbances were reported from Bagamoyo and Pangani; induced in the first instance by indiscreet conduct with reference to the Sultan's flag. Other indiscretions followed on the part of German officials, evidence of inexperience and want of tact in dealing with the natives. By the end of September the whole coast population was up in arms against not only the Germans but the English; by the end of the year they made no distinction between Germans and English; white men were "all robbers alike."

A rebellion organised.

Unfortunately the German officials did not care to take any steps to conciliate the natives; their policy, to judge from their conduct, was to treat the latter as a conquered people, whose feelings it would be absurd to consider. A leader among the discontented natives arose in the person of the half-caste chief Bushiri of Pangani, who showed an intelligence, determination,

and resource that could not but compel respect. Germany was glad, in her need, to seek the co-operation of England, and a blockade was established all along the German and the British sections of coast by the united fleets in Zanzibar waters. The hatred to the Germans grew more and more intense, and some of the native tribes took an oath that they would eat a portion of the bodies of any Germans that might be killed; though, as a matter of fact, the Arabs were the instigators of the whole movement. Of course the Company was quite unable to cope with the "insurrection" which it had deliberately incited, and the direct interference of the Imperial Government was necessary. In the beginning of 1889 Captain Hermann von Wissmann, who had twice crossed Africa, and done eminent service for the Congo Free State, was appointed Imperial Commissioner in East Africa. On the outbreak of the "insurrection" all the German plantations which had been established on the Pangani and elsewhere were abandoned, and everything reduced to chaos; the hundreds of British Indians, in whose hands was the principal trade on the coast, had also to quit their houses and take refuge in Zanzibar. In a "White Book," published in January 1889, the conduct of the German Company was severely censured; and on the 30th of the month the Reichstag passed a vote of two million marks "for the suppression of the slave-trade and the protection of German interests in East Africa." The officials of the Company were placed under the command of Wissmann, who moreover had at his disposal about a thousand native troops, trained

Wissmann appointed Imperial Commissioner.

and armed with the newest weapons. The Commissioner had at his service sixty German officers and soldiers, and about two hundred sailors from the German navy. Town after town on the coast was destroyed. Bushiri was relentlessly pursued, and his adherents defeated in fight after fight. It was not, however, until December 1889 that Bushiri himself was run to earth and executed according to martial law. This practically put an end to the "insurrection" in the northern part of the German sphere, and the Sultan was constrained to proclaim that all slaves who had entered his territories after 1st November were free. It was not, however, till the middle of 1890 that the southern coast was subdued, and the rebel chiefs of Ukami and other districts in the interior defeated, and German sovereignty established over the whole sphere from Cape Delgado to the river Wami.

Insurrection subdued.

There was, of course, no longer any question of the administration being left entirely in the hands of the Company, which in May 1889 had been incorporated by Imperial Charter as a purely commercial association. After the suppression of the "insurrection," the Sultan's rights over the coast were bought for a sum of four million marks, which, however, under various pretexts, was considerably reduced. The purchase was made in the name of the German East Africa Society, to which the Government by agreement, November 1890, advanced a loan of ten and a half million marks, partly to pay the Sultan, and partly to expend in the improvement and development of the territory.

Sultan's rights bought.

The administration is now entirely in the hands of an

Imperial Civil Commissioner appointed by the German Government, his headquarters being at Dar-es-Salaam. Under him are sub-commissioners who have charge of the various provinces into which the Imperial protectorate is divided. The total area thus taken over is estimated at 350,000 square miles, though the population is probably not over two millions. Large grants are annually made by the Imperial Government, not only for administration, but for the construction of railways into the interior and steamers for Victoria Nyanza, though these are schemes which are at present only in prospect. In the meantime, with remarkable rapidity, all the leading coast towns have been occupied and fortified. Each has its little garrison of Sudanese or East Africans, under European officers, and every precaution is taken to render their immediate environment as sanitary as possible. The chief stations in the northern district are at Tanga, Pangani, Saadani, Bagamoyo, and Dar-es-Salaam, besides which there are four subsidiary stations. In the southern district there are only three stations,—Kilwa, Lindi, and Mikindani. In the interior there are stations at Mpwapwa in Usagara, on Mount Kilimanjaro, and on the south and west coasts of Victoria Nyanza. The garrisons of the various stations do not spend their time in idleness. Road-making, house-building, and other useful work is being continually carried on. Large herds of cattle and other domestic animals are being accumulated, gardens and plantations are cultivated, buoys laid down, lighthouses erected, and these old, old towns on the East African coast will no doubt in time reach a con-

The Imperial administration.

dition of prosperity quite equal if not superior to that which the Portuguese found to exist when, four hundred years ago, they began their work of destruction.

German military methods.

The example of the Germans and the people in their service has hitherto had fairly satisfactory results. Their uncompromising military methods may or may not in the long run be those best adapted for dealing with the natives of Central Africa. The utter want of tact exhibited by the officials of the Company was no doubt deplorable. But once the mistake was made it is difficult to see that any other course than that followed by the German Government could have been adopted to cope with the unfortunate consequences; unless, indeed, the coast had been abandoned indefinitely. It should be remembered that it was the Arabs and slave-dealing half-castes that were the real instigators of the "insurrection," and if Germany resolved once for all to read these personages a sharp lesson, it is difficult to see how the policy can be blamed, except on the untenable ground that Europe has no right in Africa at all.

Confidence restored.

Once the strife was over, Arabs and Indians gathered round the old towns which had now become the centres of German power, and built solid houses and settled down to trade and to plant with more confidence than ever. In this way the coast population is steadily increasing, so that Bagamoyo, which was destroyed during the war, has now some 30,000 inhabitants; Dar-es-Salaam 15,000, and other towns in proportion. Even the streets are lit at night, and covered market-places have been erected. Certainly the rapidity with which the Germans have established themselves in the

country, and the wonderful progress already achieved, have made a deep impression upon the natives—Africans, Arabs, and Indians alike—who contrast what the Germans have done in five years with the little accomplished by the English during the fifty years they were supreme at Zanzibar, forgetting that the position of the latter in the Sultan's dominions was very different from that of the former.

Germany has not, however, contented herself with squatting on the coast. Expeditions have been sent out in various directions, partly for the purpose of prospecting, partly to found stations, and partly to establish German supremacy in the interior. Emin Pasha, who, when brought to the coast by his "rescuer" Stanley, entered the service of Germany, was the leader of one of these expeditions. He made his way to the Victoria Nyanza, on the west coast of which he established a station. But the temptation to cross over and see what was doing on the Albert Nyanza was too strong for him; he made for the south end of the lake, where five hundred of his former companions were living in comfort; but he had to depart without them, and disappeared towards the west. Another expedition on its way into the interior encountered a horde of raiding Wahehes, whose country lies in the south of the German sphere, and in the fight which ensued the Germans met with serious losses. Incidents like these are to be expected if Germany continues to pursue her military method of occupation. It is premature to pronounce the method a failure. Hitherto it has been successful in so far as the estab-

Expedition to the interior.

lishment of German authority in the coast regions is concerned. The conditions of the interior are of course entirely different, and no doubt the German Government will take care that its methods of occupation are adapted to these conditions. The great objects should be to induce the scanty population of the interior to settle down peacefully to the development of whatever resources the country possesses; to secure the safety of trading caravans; and in accordance with the provisions of the Brussels Congress (1890-91) to suppress slave-raiding, and the traffic in arms and spirits. In the carrying out of these objects mistakes may be made, a too rigid application of German military methods may defeat the purpose in view; but if these are adapted to the peculiar conditions of tropical Africa and the lessons of experience laid to heart, there seems no reason why German commerce should not be a great gainer, and German East Africa even pay its own way. Up to the present it has simply been a drain on the resources of the mother country. The Imperial Government, by direct contributions, by advancing loans to the Company, by subvention to German steam companies, by arrangements with other Powers, has done everything it could to promote the interests of German East Africa. At Tanga, on the Pangani, and one or two other favourable positions, plantation work has again been resumed with considerable success, while experimental stations are being established for the benefit both of whites and natives.

One good result of the disturbances in German East Africa was a satisfactory arrangement between Germany

and Great Britain as to their respective spheres in that part of the continent. While by the arrangement of 1886 a boundary had been drawn between the coast and Victoria Nyanza, the region to the west of the lake was regarded by adventurous Germans as open to all comers in spite of the proviso that Germany would not seek to make acquisitions on the south of the lake. As will be seen when we come to deal with British East Africa, determined attempts had been made by Dr. Peters and his friends to get behind the British sphere and secure all the lake regions for Germany. Had matters proceeded smoothly and peacefully in East Africa, there is reason to believe that the German Government might have lent itself to the support of Dr. Peters's schemes. But the co-operation of England in the suppression of the "insurrection" was so necessary and was so freely given, that it was felt in Berlin that Germany's policy was to come to a friendly understanding with her neighbour in East Africa as to the limits of their respective spheres, and to discourage any further trickeries on the part of Dr. Peters and his friends. England fortunately had an islet, Heligoland, on the German coast, which could never really be of much use to her unless she incurred an enormous expenditure for fortifications and harbours; this islet was naturally coveted by Germany, to which it belonged geographically and ethnologically. By yielding to German sentiment in this matter probably England secured better terms in Africa than she would otherwise have done. By the agreement of 1st July 1890, the northern boundary of German East

Arrangements between Germany and England.

Africa was drawn from the mouth of the Umba to Victoria Nyanza in 1° S. lat., sweeping the snowy Kilimanjaro into the German sphere, but leaving Taveta to England. The line was then drawn straight across the lake and westward until it reached the boundary of the Congo Free State, only deflecting southwards so far as to include the lofty Mt. Mfumbiro within the British sphere; although recent exploration seems to show that it is really within the Congo Free State. Witu at the mouth of the Tana, with all the stretch of coast-line to the north, which it was maintained had been acquired by German subjects, was given to England. This freed the British Company from a constant cause of menace and trouble, and did away with a fruitful source of misunderstanding between the two powers. On the south, England was not quite so fortunate. The German boundary line was drawn along the river Rovuma to Lake Nyassa. On the west side of the lake, however, while the line between the German and the British spheres was drawn so as to include the Stevenson road which runs from Lake Nyassa to Lake Tanganyika within the British sphere, the rich country to the north-west of the former lake on which British missionaries had been at work for years, was placed in the German sphere. But with such enormous areas at the disposal of each Power, a little lake paradise of this description cannot make much difference either way. The western limit of Germany was of course the eastern boundary of the Congo Free State.

This—followed as it shortly was by the proclamation of a British protectorate over the islands of Zanzibar

and Pemba, all that was left of the Sultan's domains—put an end to any risk of serious misunderstanding between Germany and England as to their respective spheres in East Africa. It left the enterprising mercantile companies of the two nations to the development by fair competition of the resources of their respective spheres, in which there is room enough for rivalry. Germany, it must be said, is somewhat handicapped by her neighbours. Several old trade-routes pass through her sphere; but with the facilities for transit which exist by means of Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa, the Shiré and the Zambesi, much of the trade of the centre of the continent may be diverted into the British sphere. The construction of a railway from the coast to the interior would give Germany an immense advantage, especially with a steamer on Victoria Nyanza; but the realisation of such a benevolent scheme seems to be as far off as ever. From the 1st of April 1891, a civil governor has been placed at the head of the administration of German East Africa, and to him the military power will be subordinate. It is certainly a step in the right direction.

# CHAPTER XVI

## THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NIGER

Activity on the West Coast—Native states in Senegal and Upper Niger basins—French campaigns—Ahmadu and Samory—The Futa Jallon—Within the bend of the Niger—Expeditions to Lake Chad—British activity on the Lower Niger—Pioneers—Obstacles to trade—A Company formed—The French on the Lower Niger—The French bought out—German attempts on the Niger—The Company triumphs—Becomes the Royal Niger Company—Progress made—The Company's powers—Freedom of navigation on the Niger—Utility of chartered companies—The Oil Rivers—The West African colonies—Lake Chad and the Central Sudan—French expedition to Lake Chad—International arrangements concerning West Africa—Liberia—Position of England and France in West Africa—French and British spheres in the Niger region—On the west of the Middle Niger—In the Chad region—Importance of the Chad States—Their division between France and England—The French Sahara—A Trans-Saharan railway—French railway dreams—Colonisation projects—French administration in West Africa—Spanish claims—Position of the three Powers.

**Activity on the West Coast.**

IT has already been seen that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European, and it may be said American, activity was mainly confined to the West Coast, between Cape Blanco and St. Paul de Loanda; that this activity was centred in the slave-trade; that on the abolition of the latter the British West Coast colonies were neglected and despised, and all advance to the interior discouraged; while the French, on the other hand, never lost sight of the Niger and Timbuktu as their goal. British traders had been

settled on the Oil Rivers since the old slave-trade days, and British enterprise forty years ago attempted, amid much disaster, to open up the Lower Niger from the Gulf of Guinea. It was also through British money and British initiative, making use of German skill and perseverance, that the northern and eastern regions of the Niger basin were explored by Dr. Barth in 1850-53. About the middle of the century, as we have seen, fresh impulse was given to French enterprise from the Senegal coast towards the Upper Niger. Expeditions pushed on towards the interior, subduing fresh tribes, and making treaties of protection with them one after another. Up to 1880, however, French influence in the interior may be said to have been assured at only a few isolated posts, extending from St. Louis on the coast to Bakel and Medina.

**Native states in the Senegal and Upper Niger basins.**

After the death of the great Moslem missionary conqueror Othman, a sheik of the remarkable peoples known as Fulahs, in 1817, the extensive "empire" which he had established, extending from near Lake Chad on the east to the borders of the Atlantic on the west, was broken up into a number of independent but still powerful states. Sokoto and Gando fell to his two sons, while the countries to the west of the Niger became still further broken up. When, therefore, France resumed with determined vigour her task of obtaining supremacy from the Atlantic to the Niger, she had to overcome one after another the resistance of a series of detached and independent native states, extending from the north of the Senegal to the source of the Niger, most of them either completely Moslem, or at

least with fanatic Moslems as their rulers. The Fulahs were and are the paramount people in the hilly country of the Futa Jallon, on the left bank of the Senegal, and the country of Massina, though as a matter of fact they are found all over the Niger basin. They in their purest state are not negro, but are migrants from the east. The bulk of the natives, however, are Mandingoes (negroes), who under various names, as Bambarras, Mahinkis, Senufs, etc., are spread all over the region, merging to the north into the races which people the Sahara. One of the most formidable of the native chiefs whom the French had to encounter was Ahmadu, son of El-Haj-Omar, who in the fifties and sixties extended his fanatical sway over most of the country from Dingueray, on the east of Futa Jallon, to Kaarta, on the north of the Upper Senegal. After his death his "empire" was broken up, and Ahmadu or Samadu reigned over that portion which lay between the middle of the Upper Niger, with Sego as the centre, and the Upper Senegal, including Kaarta. Still more formidable was the powerful Samory, who had risen from a humble origin to be lord of all the region on the Upper Niger. The Futa Jallon country still protested against French domination, and coquetted with England. East of the Niger were states of more or less importance, like Wasulu, Kong, Tieba's dominions, Massina (on the Middle Niger), Mossi, and others, some of them Mohammedan, some of them Pagan. Most of them possessed armies more or less organised, and more or less animated by Moslem fanaticism, and a determina-

tion to prevent France from securing a permanent footing on the Niger. As for Timbuktu, it was, as it had been for many years, practically independent, an *entrepôt* for trade between the Sudan and the Mediterranean, but far from holding the important place which is ascribed to it in the early days of Mohammedan domination in the Sudan.

French campaigns

In 1880 a great series of military campaigns by the French, combined with political and scientific missions, pursued conquest on a much larger scale than before. Captain Gallieni, for the purpose of laying down an interior railway route, traversed the country between Medina and the Upper Niger. He pushed his way as far as Bammako on the great river. It was only, however, after long negotiations and the taking of Kita, on one of the upper branches of the Senegal, by Colonel Desbordes, that Gallieni succeeded in signing at Nango, with King Ahmadu, a treaty (21st March 1881) which, it was maintained, gave to France the protectorate of the left bank of the Upper Niger. In 1882-83 the post of Bammako was definitely founded and fortified. Notwithstanding the attacks of the powerful Samory, king of all the country around the Niger sources, the French maintained their position, and in the two following years forts were constructed at Kundu and Niagasola, lying half-way north and south between Kita and Bammako.

Ahmadu and Samory

In 1885-86 Colonel Frey renewed hostilities with Samory, with whom a treaty of peace was signed in 1886, and at the same time Colonel Frey had to suppress a fanatical Mussulman insurrection. He was

succeeded by Gallieni (now Colonel), who (1887) induced King Ahmadu to sign a treaty which placed the territories of that chief under French protection. It was under Gallieni that the railway from Kayes to Bafoulabé on the Upper Senegal was completed—a railway intended to join that river with the Upper Niger, but which receives a yearly subsidy to prevent its being buried beneath the sands of the Sudan. This railway the French Government now wish to be taken over and completed by private capitalists under a charter. Under Gallieni also a treaty (1887) was concluded with Samory modifying that of 1886 and making over to French protection the left bank of the Tankisso (a western tributary of the Upper Niger) from its source, and the left bank of the Upper Niger itself from the junction of the Tankisso down to Bammako (130 miles). Also under the same commander, Lieutenant Caron, on board the gunboat *Niger*, navigated the river for some miles below Bammako to Kabara, the port of Timbuktu, but was compelled, owing to the hostility of the population, to return without accomplishing anything. Timbuktu, which better knowledge has reduced from an immense city of 200,000 inhabitants to a comparatively insignificant town of 10,000, still seems to dazzle the French imagination as the centre of the Moslem civilisation and the riches of the Sudan.

In 1888 a great step was made by the construction of a fort at Siguiri, at the junction of the Tankisso and the Niger, and connecting it by telegraph with St. Louis, the capital of Senegal on the coast. In the

same year exploring expeditions were sent out in all directions by Gallieni—to the country between Bakel and the Gambia, the region along the Central Faleme (tributary of the Senegal), the northern Futa Jallon, and the Casamansa, and the country between the Senegal and the Upper Niger. A mass of information was thus collected of the greatest use in carrying out further annexations. Colonel Gallieni was specially anxious to obtain a firm footing in the Futa Jallon, a country centring round a mountain mass forming the Hinterland to the French province of Rivières du Sud, and lying to the north-east of Sierra Leone; a country which, years ago, the British Government was urged to take under its protection. It formed for France the connecting link between her posts on the Upper Niger and her establishments on the Atlantic coast; this mountainous region, from the commercial, the military, and the sanitary point of view, being justly regarded as a desirable possession.

The Futa Jallon.

A treaty was made in 1881 with Dr. Bayol by the Almamy of Futa Jallon, though the tribe did not take kindly to French protection, and even made overtures to England; but the success of Gallieni decided the Almamy to take the prudent course of submission. In 1887 the Almamy, Ibrahim Sory, signed a treaty placing all his country under the exclusive protection of France. On the other side of the Upper Niger the work of treaty-making, as well as of exploration, was carried out in 1888-90 by Captain Binger, who traversed much of the region within the great bend of the Niger, starting from Bammako and zigzagging until he reached the

Within the bend of the Niger.

Guinea Coast. Captain Binger, it has been notified by the French Government, has made treaties by which the countries of Tieba, Kong, Jimini, Anno, and Bondoko, are placed under French protection. These, with other treaties made about the same time, unite the colony of Grand Bassam on the Guinea Coast with the French possessions on the Upper Niger. In 1891 France declared her annexation of the strip of coast between Liberia and Grand Bassam. The Hinterland of this touches the country of Samory, so that there is a solid block of French territory all the way from the coast of Senegal to the Gulf of Guinea, shutting out from the interior the colonies of England and Portugal and the state of Liberia. The eastern boundary of Binger's acquisitions is the Black Volta, which, joining the Red and the White Volta farther east, forms part of the boundary between Ashanti and the Gold Coast colony on the one hand, and German Togoland on the other. Captain Binger is, moreover, said to have entered into relations with Salaga and Mossi, the former on the north of Togoland and the latter about two-thirds of the distance between the Guinea Coast and Timbuktu. Germany will certainly not consent to the establishment of French influence at Salaga, by which she would be shut out from the interior, and it remains to be seen whether England will consent to have her Gold Coast colony treated after a similar fashion. By the Anglo-French agreement of August 1889 France has no right to come south of the 9th degree of north latitude in the rear of the Gold Coast colony. Mossi she may have, and Massina, Yalinga,

and Aribinda, which leaves her the whole of the Upper Niger and the great bend that sweeps round by Timbuktu.

The French hold in the Upper Niger was still further tightened by the campaigns of 1890-91, under Colonel Archinard, who captured Sego, on the right bank of the river below Bammako, and Nioro, the capital of Kaarta, 250 miles north-west of Sego, so partially destroying the power of Ahmadu, who, notwithstanding former treaties, was unwilling to resign his independence. He was the great obstruction in the way to Timbuktu and Lake Chad on the one side, and to Futa Jallon on the other. Colonel Archinard, however, sent the troublesome Samory flying towards the south, though he has not as yet been reconciled to French "protection."

Expeditions to Lake Chad.

Other expeditions, partly exploratory, partly military and political, are traversing the country between the coast and the Upper Niger, one of them being for the survey of a railway route between the Upper Niger and the coast; as the railway intended to connect the Senegal and the Niger is practically useless. Other expeditions are following in the footsteps of Binger; one, under Captain Monteil, having for its object to push on to Say on the Middle Niger, and thence to Lake Chad, has succeeded in accomplishing its object and crossed the desert to Tupoli. Others will be referred to later on. The evident object of them all has been to sweep into the French sphere the whole of the Niger and Chad regions.

British activity on the Lower Niger.

This French dream of a great empire in Africa, stretching without interruption from the Mediterranean

to the Congo, might have been realised had it not been for a few British merchants inspired and led by one clear-sighted, determined, public-spirited man, Mr. Goldie Taubman, now Sir George Taubman Goldie, an ex-officer of the Royal Engineers, who had first visited the Niger in 1877. The old relations of England with the Oil Rivers, an intricate network of streams partly forming the Niger delta and partly independent creeks, have already been referred to. It has also been shown that after the discovery of the course of the Lower Niger in 1829, the British Government, as well as private individuals (1840-60) endeavoured to develop the navigation and trade of the river, but that these attempts only ended in disaster and failure. Traders mostly belonging to Liverpool and Glasgow still continued their factories on the Oil Rivers, on some of which British missions have been settled for half a century. These traders had no direct connection with the interior, their business being conducted on the coast-line through native middlemen who barred the way inland. After the abolition of the slave-trade it took some time to induce the natives to settle down to legitimate traffic. Gradually the trade in palm oil and latterly palm kernels developed, and as the articles given in exchange—the vilest of spirits, guns and powder, cotton and other goods—were of the cheapest character, great profits were made. Still the Great River, the finest navigable highway into the interior of Africa, which comes out to the Atlantic at Akassa, in the centre of the Oil Rivers, remained neglected as a commercial route, the native chiefs them-

selves putting every obstacle in the way of its utilisation. After the British Government ceased to send out or subsidise expeditions, about a quarter of a century ago, several enterprising firms in succession established permanent trading stations on the Niger at their own cost and risk. Macgregor Laird was the pioneer in this new enterprise. As far back as 1852 he entered the region determined to secure it for British trade, and though his station was destroyed by the natives and death terminated his work, he had paved the way for others. The most successful of these pioneers was Mr. James Alexander Croft, known as the "Father of the Niger," whose efforts during fifteen years had much to do in opening up the great river to traders. But no solid basis for wide extension or for the protection of British interests could be expected from the isolated and conflicting efforts of individual traders and firms with very limited capital, in a region where all was chaos, arising from generations of intertribal wars and continuous slave-raids. On the Lower Niger the natives are all pagans and barbarians, though the river is the key to the semi-civilised and populous states of the Central Sudan. While the visits of the one or two white agents to these barbarians had some good influence, the constant rivalry between the various firms and the intrigues and counter-intrigues among their coloured agents made all progress impossible.

Pioneers

Obstacles to trade.

Even at the three or four points where alone Europeans ventured to establish stations, frequent outrages occurred on the part of turbulent and indolent

natives, who overawed their more industrious and peaceful townsmen; while directly any tribe with commercial instincts acquired a modicum of wealth this became the motive for attack by more warlike neighbours, so that the only result of their prudence and industry was the loss of such property as they had acquired. They were fortunate too if they were not carried off as slaves into the bargain. At rare intervals a British gunboat would ascend the main river a short distance during the high Niger and bombard the stick or clay houses on the banks and then hurry back to the sea with half the crew down with fever, when the natives, who had retired to a safe distance from the river, would return, rebuild their houses, and recommence their previous conduct, knowing that their houses were safe for another twelve months.

A Company formed.

In 1879, however, all the British interests on the Niger River were amalgamated into the United African Company. There were at that time no other Europeans on the river. From that time, under the influence of Sir George Goldie, it was resolved to try to keep the peace among the hundreds of heterogeneous tribes by welding them into a homogeneous State, and to obtain a charter for the administration of the district. On applying to the Government in 1881, the first difficulty raised was that the capital of the Company was too small. To meet this, the capital was increased from £125,000 to £1,000,000 sterling; the Company was thrown open to the public, and the name changed to the National African Company. Even then, 1882, the prospectus of the Company announced as their aim

the establishing of direct relations with the great and powerful kingdoms of Sokoto and Gando and the states of the Chad basin. The Company at once took an immense development. New stations were established, steamers and launches were sent out, operations were pushed further and further up both the Niger and its great tributary the Benue, and preparations made for the expected charter.

**The French on the Lower Niger.**

Meanwhile, under the inspiration of Gambetta, French traders began to creep into the Lower Niger, and two French companies were formed, their patent intention being to secure the Lower and Middle Niger and the Benué for France, whose military agents by different tactics were rapidly making their way to absorb the upper river. One of these companies had a capital of £160,000 and the other of £600,000. Station after station was established, until there were something like thirty of these planted on the lower river. All this had proved a complete barrier to the issue of a British Charter, as France would have justly and effectually protested against such a course. If this state of things had continued the entire region would have been lost to England, which had done so much for its exploration and its commercial development. Long before this, the dream of a vast African empire extending from the Mediterranean to the Congo, had been dazzling the eyes of France, and, as has been seen, expeditions had been already pioneering for a railway route from Algeria to Timbuktu. The situation was certainly critical and trying, but the ever-watchful Sir George Goldie was

equal to the emergency. The British Company greatly increased their staff, multiplied their stations, and lavished their goods in presents, in order to prevent the native tribes making treaties with the French; moreover, by intense competition they greatly enhanced the cost of the native products which formed the commodities of trade. In this way, after a costly struggle, the losses of the French companies became so serious that, after the fall of Gambetta, both of them were induced to retire from the Niger, being partly bought out in cash or shares by the British Company, who have still French shareholders on their list with holdings amounting to £60,000. The final deeds of transfer were only signed a few days before the meeting of the Berlin Conference, when the British Plenipotentiary was able to announce that no nation but England had any interests on the Lower Niger.

**The French bought out.**

**German attempts on the Niger.**

No sooner had this danger been got rid of than another, quite as serious, threatened the Company, though by this time treaties had been made which secured to it the Lower Niger as far as the junction with the Benué, and the southern bank of the latter river up to Ibi. The events at the Cameroons associated with the name of Dr. Nachtigal will be remembered, and how it was only under the incitement of panic that we kept our hold on the Oil Rivers, which were declared a British protectorate in July 1884. But the Central Sudan regions were still unsecured by any treaty or declaration of protection, and Germany was not slow to take advantage of this. The feeling against England at the time was intensely bitter in Germany,

and every possible means was adopted to hamper our operations in Africa. Herr Flegel, as has been seen, had been familiar with the river for years, and had really done much for the exploration of the Middle Niger and the Benué. In April 1885, under the auspices of the German African Society and the German Colonial Society, he left Berlin for the Niger with intentions that were obvious. Happily the National African Company had become aware in time of the German intentions and of the projected scheme. Mr. Joseph Thomson had just returned much shattered in health from his successful expedition into Masai Land, and to him the Company appealed to come to their help and prevent the Sudan provinces of the Niger and Benué from meeting with the fate of the Cameroons. With characteristic unselfishness Mr. Thomson lost not a moment in setting out on his all-important mission, and even before Flegel left Berlin, he, in March 1885, was entering the mouth of the Niger. With a speed that was marvellous, Mr. Thomson made his way up the Niger to Sokoto and Gando, concluded treaties with the Sultans, and secured the allegiance to the Company of their great empires. As Mr. Thomson returned to the coast triumphant, he met Herr Flegel on his way up on a fruitless errand. Flegel died soon after, but his work, so far as exploration was concerned, was carried out in 1885-86 by Dr. Staudinger, who reached Sokoto, but of course found treaty-making impossible; the British Government were consequently enabled to carry through the Anglo-German agreement of 1886.

The Company triumphs.

The Company could now show some three hundred

Becomes the Royal Niger Company.

treaties with native chiefs, securing to them the whole of the riverine territory up to, and they believed including, Burrum at the north-east angle of the Niger bend. Immediately on the withdrawal of the French flag the Company had urgently renewed their appeals for a Royal Charter which would not only leave them unobstructed in the development of their immense territory, but secure the splendid highway and the region to which it gave access for England; but the issue of a charter was again delayed until July 1886, chiefly owing to scruples in high quarters, as to the possibility of granting a charter over territories which, owing to the Berlin Conference, had to be placed *under British protection.* At last, however, the whole of the navigable part of this great commercial highway, and its almost equally great tributary the Benué, were definitely secured for England, and the National African Company became the Royal Niger Company, with Lord Aberdare as Governor, and Sir George Taubman Goldie (the real creator of the Company) as Vice-Governor. The Company have about forty settlements, that of Ribago on the Benué being only 200 miles from Lake Chad. The capital of the Niger territories is at Asaba. An elaborate system of justice and administration has been established, while there is as little interference as possible with the internal affairs of the native states. There is a military force of about 1000 men, with headquarters at Lokoja, at the junction of the Benué and Niger, and of course scattered over the territories a considerable staff of white officials with great numbers of coloured assistants, who are educated natives of the West Coast

Progress made.

colonies, and to whose hearty co-operation and excellent work the Company have acknowledged that much of their success is due. The development of the country is proceeding apace, though the trade so far is entirely in fibres, gums, ivory, kernels, palm oil, peppers, rubber, and other natural products, the export of which amounts to about £300,000 annually. But, as far as the deadly climate admits, experiments are being made on a considerable scale with coffee, cocoa, and other introduced cultures, and means are meanwhile being taken to make the most of the natural forest and other products, without exhausting them.

The Company's powers.

Of course the brief career of the Royal Niger Company has not been without troubles and difficulties. It was absolutely necessary that the Company as administrators of the territory should take measures to prevent their own agents, and others who made use of the river, from being molested. At the same time it was clearly within their rights to look sharply after their own interests as a commercial company, and to take full advantage of the treaties by which the countries along the banks of the river had been secured to them. In this they simply followed the example of the other Powers that have secured "spheres" in Africa, and commerce is not expected to be either disinterested or sentimental. It was inevitable, in establishing an administration and in laying down rules for the conduct of trade, that the Company's officials should be brought into collision with the natives. Possibly some of the Company's officials may have treated the natives more harshly than was necessary, and been too ready to

undertake "punitive" expeditions. But either the Company or the natives must give way when any question of obeying the laws enacted by the former (with the approval of Her Majesty's Secretary of State) is to be settled; and to object to a resort to force on the part of the Company when every other method has failed would be unreasonable. The question whether Europeans have any right to force themselves upon Africa at all is a question of academic interest; but it is too late, from any practical standpoint, to discuss it at the present day.

Freedom of navigation on the Niger.

For administrative purposes the Company has imposed dues and taxes, which are of course levied on the Company in its trading capacity, so that in this respect it is treated on precisely the same footing as outside traders. It seems to be a prevailing error that the Berlin Act imposed free trade on the Niger region as it did on the basin of the Congo; this is quite erroneous. The waters of the British Niger were freed at the Berlin Conference for transit to regions beyond British influence, following the principle which, since the Congress of Vienna in 1815, has been adopted in nearly all the rivers in Europe and America which flow through two or more States; but the Company are at liberty to impose what customs regulations they deem necessary as to landing on their own territories. There are numerous ports of entry, and the Company are entitled to insist that these and these alone should be used by vessels; just as all maritime nations have ports where alone vessels may load or discharge. Both Germany and France have endeavoured to break through these regulations, and to

avoid the dues which have been imposed, and especially the almost prohibitive duties on spirits, but these attempts have invariably proved unsuccessful.

Utility of chartered companies.

The Royal Niger Company is the first English Company in modern times to which a charter has been granted for territories under British protection. It was, indeed, preceded by some years by the British North Borneo Company, but their territories were not placed under British protection until the grant of charters to the British East Africa and British South Africa Companies some time after the granting of the Niger charter. It has been seen in previous chapters that such instruments were common in past times, from the days of Elizabeth downwards. There can be little question that such a method is well adapted for initiating the development of a tropical country, the inhabitants of which are to a large extent barbarous, the climate of which is not favourable for permanent European settlement, and which is not ripe for the elaborate and expensive machinery of a Crown Colony. It secures the region for the Power which grants the charter at a minimum of outlay, and the rule of the Company may at any time, should the necessity arise, be superseded by a more direct imperial administration. A charter is an admirable compromise, a useful first step to something more advanced. The protection which Great Britain affords is limited to securing the chartered regions from external aggression on the part of civilised powers, and the maintenance of internal peace and security lies upon the chartered companies. While the Government that grants it is

thus freed from all expenditure, it can impose whatever conditions it chooses in order to secure satisfactory administration, and can at any time withdraw the charter if these conditions are not adhered to. Of the three great African Companies which have received royal charters, the Royal Niger Company—the first granted—is the one which comes least before the public, but up to the present time it has been the most steadily progressive. Without taking the public into its confidence, the Company has quietly advanced from one post to another, and made one treaty after another, until its sphere embraces an area of half a million square miles; it has taken precautions to forestall any attempt on the part of other Powers to come between itself and that portion of the Central Sudan which it believes with some justice ought to be within its sphere. Other Powers with their eyes on Lake Chad have been sending out expeditions from all sides, of which all Europe has heard; the Niger Company meanwhile has been saying nothing, but in time it may be found to have done much. The time will no doubt come, sooner or later, when these Niger territories will be ripe for direct imperial administration; but this is a step Government is not likely to take so long as the Company does not abuse its powers.

**The Oil Rivers.**

At first sight it seems anomalous and to be regretted that the region known as the Oil Rivers, extending from the boundary of the colony of Lagos to the Forcados River, and from the Brass River to the Rio Del Rey, which may be in part regarded as the delta of the Niger, should be quite detached from the juris-

diction to which the river itself is subjected, and be under a different régime. But there are reasons for it. As has been seen, British traders have been settled here for many years, long before the great river was itself known in its lower course. It would have been unjust to have compelled these traders to amalgamate with the Company, and as they preferred to remain separate the Oil Rivers have been made a separate protectorate. As we have seen, they narrowly escaped annexation by Germany; for there can be little doubt that had Mr. Consul Hewett not forestalled Dr. Nachtigal, the latter would have had no hesitation in dealing with them as he did with the Cameroons, and had he done so he would have secured the greater part of the seaboard between that colony and Lagos. After the Oil Rivers were declared a British protectorate in 1884, they were subject to a consular jurisdiction until 1891, when an Imperial Administrator and Consul-General was appointed to administer the protectorate, with a staff of vice-consuls, one to be stationed on each river,—Benin, Brass, New Calabar, Quaebo, Opobo, and Old Calabar. The area of the protectorate has been considerably restricted. Taxes have of necessity been imposed; the rough system of justice administered by Courts of Equity, composed of the merchants themselves under consular supervision, has been superseded by more regular methods, and the Oil Rivers have virtually been converted into a Crown Colony. At first there was some friction between the administrator (Major Sir Claude M. MacDonald) and the traders, but there can be little doubt that in the end the new

régime will be for the benefit of all concerned,—whites and natives.

In 1890 the majority of the merchants trading on the Oil Rivers amalgamated into the African Association Limited of Liverpool, with a subscribed capital of half a million; but there are still one or two independent firms which possess a considerable share of the trade. The total exports amount to over a million sterling annually.

**The West African Colonies.**

The Oil Rivers march, on their north side, with the colony of Lagos, the most prosperous and promising of all the British colonies in West Africa, mainly because it has a reasonable Hinterland behind it. The rich and thickly-populated Yoruba country has been recently annexed as a protectorate, a country capable of great agricultural development, with large cities populated by an eager trading population. With regard to the other British West African colonies, the enterprise of the French, combined with the British policy of abstention already referred to, has practically restricted the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone to strips of the seaboard, while the Gambia colony is confined to the banks of the river, and its trade is mostly in the hands of Frenchmen.

**Lake Chad and the Central Sudan.**

Before briefly referring to the international treaties by which the Powers concerned have attempted to delimit the spheres within which their influence is acknowledged, let us realise the fact that the goal of all the three great Powers concerned lies in the region around Lake Chad. Timbuktu, it has already been pointed out, has always dazzled the dreamers of France as the central point of the future great "African Em-

pire," and the key to the Central Sudan, which with some justice has been regarded as one of the richest regions of Central Africa. Although Timbuktu has been reduced to a comparatively commonplace town, still the Central Sudan — Sokoto, Bornu, Bagirmi, Kanem, Wadai, Darfur, to name the principal states— is a region which any commercial people might well desire to monopolise. While there is a large substratum of pagan population, negroes and mixed breeds, the ruling people are Mohammedan, comparatively civilised, using enormous quantities of textile and other commodities which Europe can supply. The ruling race, the Fellatah or Fulah, are of a superior type, totally distinct from the true negro, and coming from the east. Here we have the old semi-barbarous Mohammedan pageantry in its ancient glory, combined with intense hatred of the infidel European. The French have had difficulties with such semi-barbarous potentates as Samory and Ahmadu, though these also are Mohammedans. King M'tesa of Uganda was not to be dealt with so easily as a wretched Congo chief, or even as Lobengula; but these Central Sudan potentates may give more trouble to the Power or Powers that undertake to reduce them to subjection than all the rest of Africa combined, not even excepting Morocco. But notwithstanding this, or in ignorance of it, Great Britain, France, and Germany are trying to outrace each other in reaching the Chad regions, our knowledge of which is mainly due to Barth and Nachtigal, especially the latter, who escaped, as it were, by the skin of his teeth. France, as we have seen, has

been sending expedition after expedition from the Senegal Coast and the Guinea Coast, with Lake Chad —little better than a huge marsh—as their goal. Most of these expeditions are undertaken at Government expense, though Captain Binger's was a private undertaking. Perhaps the most determined attempt which has been made was the expedition which in 1890 started from the Mobangi tributary of the Congo under M. Paul Crampel. It ascended the Mobangi and struck northwards to the Bagirmi country, the southern limit of which is only about three hundred miles from the Mobangi. Disaster overtook the expedition on the threshold of Bagirmi, the most southerly of the Lake Chad countries, and, as are the other Sudan states, ruled by fanatical Mohammedans. M. Crampel and all but one of his white companions were massacred.

**French expedition to Lake Chad.**

Another expedition under a young naval officer, Lieutenant Mizon, actually entered the river itself in 1890 for the purpose of getting behind the Niger Company's territories in order to secure the Hinterland for France. Notwithstanding the avowed object of the expedition, the Company did all they could possibly be expected to do to help Lieutenant Mizon, even going so far as to lend him money and to tow boats up the Niger and Benue. Foiled in his attempt to cut the Company off from the Lake Chad region, Mizon entered into relations with the King of Adamawa, from whose country he marched south behind the German Cameroons to the French Congo. In the summer of 1892 he again set out for the Niger with the avowed object of furthering French commercial interests in

Adamawa, and of extending French influence as far in the direction of Lake Chad as possible. The expedition under Captain Monteil, already referred to, advanced across the great bend of the Niger, through Sokoto and Bornu to Lake Chad. Monteil states that he was warmly welcomed in Bornu and made "treaties" with the chiefs; but these "treaties" can have no political significance, as Bornu is distinctly recognised by France as within the British sphere. The leading expeditions from the German side (the Cameroons) have already been referred to. Both French and German expeditions have not only the sympathy but the active support of their Governments, who supply considerable sums annually from their treasuries for the development of their African possessions; while the Niger Company, as a purely private undertaking, does not cost the British Government a penny. Yet this remarkable fact remains, that the private enterprise has hitherto yielded a fair profit to those engaged in it; while both the French and German spheres have involved an expenditure far in excess of any revenue which has been derived from them. Here, as in other portions of the British Empire, the flag has followed the trade; the reverse policy has been that of France and of Germany in Africa. Indeed there is a strong Colonial party in France who are tired of all these expeditions, military and exploratory, who maintain that French annexation has gone far enough, and that the time has come to develop what has already been acquired, and which, so far, has only been a source of outlay without return.

International arrangements concerning West Africa.

As was to be expected, the various stages of advance in the direction of the Niger and Lake Chad have been marked by international arrangements, not always so clear and well defined as to prevent ambiguity and obviate disputes between those who were parties to them. The arrangements between Great Britain and Germany on the territories south of the Niger have already been referred to. Between France and England there have been several arrangements regulating the position of their colonies on the coast, and their respective spheres in the interior. On the Gambia, by the agreement of 10th August 1889, the British sphere is virtually confined to about six miles on each side of the river as far as Yarbutendi. The exports from the Gambia are not on an average more than £100,000 a year, and the trade is almost entirely in French hands. Until we reach Sierra Leone, French territory is uninterrupted except for a block of 11,500 square miles, to the south of the Gambia, which is all that remains of Portuguese Guinea. The boundaries of the block are regulated by Franco-Portuguese agreements of 12th May 1884 and 31st August 1887. It includes about one hundred miles of coast between Cape Roxo and the mouth of the Cazet river. Two hundred miles of French coast (the colony of Rivières du Sud) brings us to Sierra Leone, which has a coast-line of 250 miles, and the boundaries of which are regulated by the Anglo-French agreement of 1889.

In its northern section the colony should thus extend inland about 200 miles, tapering off towards

the south; but it remains to be seen what will be the effect of the encroachments which France has been making in the east, and what will be the precise limits in the interior, laid down by the Joint Commission now at work. It is to be feared that, whatever may be their limits, France is now in actual occupation of the whole region from which the colony could derive its trade.

Much the same might be said of Liberia, though so far as the wants of its population go,—even with all the encroachments of France,—the country itself possesses resources enough if only they were properly developed. But what with the presence of a British colony on the north, and the French in the Hinterland and on the south coast, Liberia is being gradually reduced both in length and breadth, and, as a separate state, may eventually disappear altogether. So far as the prosperity of the country and the welfare of the population are concerned, this might not be a calamity; the experiment of an independent, civilised African State can hardly be said to have been a success. It is a fair example of how far the native of Central Africa, even when comparatively civilised, is, if left to himself, capable of developing the resources of his continent.

Liberia.

By the Anglo-French agreement already referred to, the British Gold Coast colony is permitted to stretch inland to 9° N. lat.; and if the treaties which the French are reported to have made with the natives in the interior are admitted to be valid, the Gold Coast will be in much the same

Position of England and France in West Africa.

position as Sierra Leone, while on the other side, as was shown in a previous chapter, the Germans have been attempting to creep round from Togoland in spite of the neutral zone that was established by the Anglo-German agreement of 1888. In their attempts to press into the interior the Germans are more likely to come into contact with French than with British enterprise. The small wedge of French territory between Togoland and Lagos has the fierce Dahomans behind it; with these France had a severe struggle in 1892, resulting in the practical subjugation of one of the most troublesome native states in Africa. But Dahomey is completely insulated by the treaties of the Royal Niger Company. Thus it is evident that until we approach the sphere of the Royal Niger Company and the colony of Lagos, France practically claims to be dominant in the interior. From the points of view of *haute politique* our statesmen may or may not be justified in merely "watching" (as their expression is) these French advances. But, undoubtedly, British trade in the West African colonies has been severely hampered by these wholesale annexations. We have deliberately permitted the advance of France into interior regions which many times during past years we could have had for the taking; but at first, because our statesmen shirked incurring further responsibility, and latterly, to all appearance, for no other reason than to please France, we have held our hands. It may be that those whose duty it is to safeguard the interests of the Empire believe that they have had compensation for this reticence elsewhere. It is usual to reproach

our West African colonists with never having done much to develop the trade of the interior; they have simply squatted on the coast and taken what was brought them; but the difficulty has been that any more enterprising policy has been discouraged by the Home Government. The Royal Niger Company cannot be charged with any such *laissez faire* policy; and in the interests of our Niger dominions, we ought to fix the meridian of Greenwich as the eastern limit of French encroachments south of the latitude of Say and north of 9° N. lat.

French and British spheres in the Niger region.

So far as British interests in this region of Central Africa are concerned, the Anglo-French agreement of 5th August 1890 is of the utmost importance. Let us briefly consider its purport. The clause which relates to the Niger region is as follows:—"The Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognises the sphere of influence of France to the south of the Mediterranean possessions, up to a line from Say on the Niger to Barrua on Lake Chad, drawn in such a manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the Kingdom of Sokoto; the line to be determined by the Commission to be appointed."

On the west of the Middle Niger.

Commissioners from the two Powers were to meet in Paris to determine the boundaries of the respective spheres, including the region to the west and the south of the Middle Niger, the region in which the agents of France have been so busy making "treaties" without waiting for the decision of a Commission which has never met. The line between Say and Barrua is traced

very differently by French and English cartographers. The former make it almost straight, with a tendency to bend southwards, the latter, justly recognising that the country of Air or Asben is subject to Sokoto, make it take a sharp bend northwards, to about 18° N. lat. before it sweeps down to Say. The kingdom of Gandu is admittedly subject to Sokoto, and with it, moreover, the Royal Niger Company have made independent treaties. The French cartographers make the western boundary line drop directly southwards from Say to the Guinea Coast, completely ignoring Gurma, which is a province of the Sokoto-Gandu empire, and Borgu, with which kingdom the Niger Company has treaties. It would only be carrying out the arrangement to draw the line westward from Say to, at least, the Greenwich meridian, and thence round the west of Borgu to the western boundary of the Gold Coast.

**In the Chad region.**

Again, it is on the British side regarded as only just and fair, and in accordance with the spirit of the arrangement, that France should abstain from making any annexations to the immediate south of Lake Chad, or to the east of the Lake south of the continuation of the Say-Barrua line. But as we have seen, this is not the French interpretation, and precipitate efforts are being made to get behind the Niger Company's sphere, and if possible create a French sphere on the south and east of Lake Chad. If it is held that a literal interpretation of the arrangement admits of such enterprise, it must be equally admitted that the Niger Company has the right to make treaties to the north-

west of Say; that is, in territory which France considers the agreement to have given her. In short, France cannot appeal in the one case to the letter of the agreement and ignore its spirit, and in the other case to its spirit and ignore its literal interpretation. Bornu, which lies between Sokoto and Lake Chad, is, though somewhat decayed, still a powerful Mohammedan state, with five million people, the trade of which is worth cultivating. It is undoubtedly within the British sphere, and it is satisfactory to know that the Royal Niger Company are already in relations with its chief. Bagirmi which lies south-east from Lake Chad, and on the south border of which the Crampel expedition came to grief, is not so advanced in civilisation as the great kingdom of Wadai, to which it is subject. Wadai, the most powerful Mohammedan state in the Central Sudan, occupies the space between Lake Chad and Darfur, 172,000 square miles in area, with a population of a million and a half. The negro Mabas, who are the ruling people, are fanatical Mohammedans, and Wadai will prove one of the most difficult of all the African states to deal with. Kanem, which lies round the north and east shores of the Lake, is also tributary to Wadai. To the east of Wadai all except the western section of Darfur is, by the last Anglo-German agreement, within the sphere of influence of Great Britain.

Importance of the Chad States.

It is these Central Sudan states, the suzerainty of which is coveted by France and Germany; the lake around which they are grouped is the goal to which so many French expeditions are concentrating along half-a-dozen lines.

At present, undoubtedly, the Royal Niger Company has a position of advantage over all the others, being, so to speak, within measurable distance of the Lake. But it is working on its own resources and initiative, without any active support from the British Government; while the Governments of France and Germany are taking an active part in the race, and are lending direct encouragement to private enterprise. The Royal Niger Company cannot be accused of any lack of enterprise. Those who direct its affairs know their own interests, and may be trusted to secure a footing in the Lake Chad States, if they consider it to be wise policy to do so. The British Government, like Providence, helps those who help themselves, and if the Company succeeds in overcoming the Mohammedan fanaticism of the Chad States so far as to induce them by peaceful means to enter into friendly relations, it is to be hoped it will obtain prompt support from the Imperial Government. In this way the British sphere would extend across the heart of the Sudan from the Nile to the Niger, and include one of the most desirable sections of the continent. The Lake Chad region is one of the great centres of the traffic in slaves, thousands of whom, captured in the pagan countries to the south, are sent across the Sahara every year; and it will probably be found more difficult to suppress this trade here than in any other part of Africa. But this is a problem that will not in all probability have to be faced for many years to come.

**Their division between France and England.**

By a fair interpretation of the Anglo-French agreement Kanem might be allowed to go to France, who, if she wishes it, is at liberty to extend her sphere so as

to include the fine mountainous country of Tibesti to the north; for Tripoli will probably have to be content with Fezzan as its Hinterland. Indeed the most rational solution of the problem as between England and France would be to continue the Say-Barrua line eastward from Lake Chad; though here again we are met with the difficulty that thus Wadai would be cut in two. But a similar partition of native states has already been made in delimiting the Anglo-German sphere to the west of Victoria Nyanza. If France were carrying her ambition too far, Germany might intervene; she might object to France coming behind her sphere in Adamawa. Events have not, however, yet reached the stage when the difficulty can be solved by international arrangement. The race here is to the swift, and the battle, if not to the strong, at least to the alert and the cool. Here we have almost the only unannexed part of Africa that is worth scrambling for.

The French Sahara.

As a sequel to the agreement of 1890, France has had no hesitation in including on her maps of Africa the bulk of the Sahara desert as within her sphere. From the south-west corner of Algeria her cartographers draw a straight line south-west to Cape Blanco, thereby ignoring the Spanish claims over Adrar. Even if the line were deflected so as not to interfere with these claims (which are at present the subject of negotiation between the two Powers), we should have between that line and the eastern boundary—which on French maps extends from Tunis in a zigzag direction southwards so as to include the whole of Kanem—a total area of something like 900,000 square miles. It should also

be noted that in drawing the western line the comparatively fine region of Tuat is included, a region which is claimed by Morocco. But there is little doubt that the claims of Morocco will be ignored and Tuat included in Southern Algeria.

What is France to do with this enormous area of desert? For though recent explorations have corrected prevailing notions of the nature of the Sahara, there is no doubt that, with the exception of an oasis here and there, the 900,000 square miles claimed by France is mostly sand, stone, and scrub. It is true that underneath the Sahara, as under all other deserts, there is a vast store of water. On the south of Algeria this water has been tapped, oases have been created, and hundreds of thousands of date-palms planted. This, however, simply shows that when the earth is so full of people that all the other lands have been utilised for the purposes of humanity, we shall still have the Sahara to fall back upon as a last resource. Meanwhile the Sahara is regarded by France mainly as a connecting link between her provinces on the Mediterranean and the interior region claimed by her in the basins of the Senegal, the Niger, and Lake Chad. Reference has already been made to the unfortunate expedition under Colonel Flatters, with the view of surveying for a railway route. That disaster suppressed all thoughts of a railway for some years. But since the Anglo-French agreement the scheme of a Trans-Saharan Railway has been taken up again with renewed vigour. There have been various preliminary surveys to the south

**A Trans-Saharan railway.**

of Algeria, and three main schemes have been advanced, starting from the three provinces of Algeria; one having St. Louis as its southern terminus, another Timbuktu, and a third Lake Chad. The total length in any case would be about 2000 miles, and the cost ten to twenty millions sterling, including the defences at each station against the attacks of the Tuaregs. The difficulties of a railway across a waterless desert are obvious, but, as the Central Asian Railway proves, not at all insuperable. At present occasional caravans of camels are quite adequate for the commerce of the whole of the Central Sudan, and it is difficult to see how a railway could pay until after many years. Each caravan carries goods to the value of about £10,000 (not including slaves), and probably £300,000 would represent the total annual traffic between the Central Sudan and the Mediterranean countries west of Egypt. A railway might in time succeed in increasing the demand for European goods, encouraging the development of the resources of the Sudan, and suppressing slavery. And if France is chivalrous and confiding enough to construct a railway with such prospects in view, it will not be for the British Company on the Niger to complain, since it could do them nothing but good. At any rate, at least part of the dream of France has been realised; if she cannot march over French territory from the Mediterranean to the Congo, she can at least get as far as the Guinea Coast, without ever getting outside her own sphere.

French railway dreams.

But French dreams are not confined to the construction of railways for the purpose of drawing the commerce

of the Sudan down to the French ports on the Mediterranean. Africa is the great central continent of the globe, and by an extension of the projected Sudan lines to the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, say to Mozambique on the east, and to St. Louis on the west, what more easy than to draw the bulk of the world's traffic into the lap of France, and so for ever destroy the commercial supremacy of England? On the one side the ocean lines from India, Australia, and the east would converge towards Mozambique, while all the traffic of South America would inevitably find an *entrepôt* at St. Louis. This is a fair sample of the brilliant visions with which the eyes of the French public are dazzled; though it must be said that Frenchmen familiar with the real conditions simply laugh at them.

Colonisation projects.

Another scheme, equally chimerical, so far as our present knowledge goes, is that of establishing colonies of thousands of French peasants and small farmers in the great bend of the Niger, in Mossi, and other "kingdoms," as also in other portions of the Sudan within the sphere of France. When one remembers the French aversion to emigration, the infinitesimal addition made to the population by annual increase, and the nature of the climate which prevails over the whole of the Niger region, it is difficult to believe that any man of sanity and ordinary knowledge could broach such a scheme.

French administration in West Africa.

With regard to the administration of the French territories in West Africa, it may be regarded as, with few exceptions, purely military. In the "colonies" of

Senegal and Rivières du Sud there are a few places which are classed as "pays possédés," consisting of a few communes and "territoires"—the latter simply posts with a small area around. These have a civil government, and a certain amount of autonomy. The total area thus covered is comparatively insignificant. In the "pays annexés" the chiefs are appointed by the Colonial Governor, and certain dues are levied, but native laws and customs prevail. Such countries are Walo, part of Cayor, Toro, Demai, and Damga. Outside this are the "pays protégés," including such regions as the Futa Jallon, Jolif, part of Cayor, the basin of the Casamansa, and most of the Rivières du Sud. In these territories the native rule prevails, the chiefs being appointed by the Governor of Senegal. Outside of this is the French Sudan proper, covering about 45,000 square miles, and regarded as a "pays annexé." This includes the country on the Upper Senegal extending towards the Niger; it is under a "Commandant Supérieur." It is divided into fourteen circles, each in charge of an officer, though the natives preserve to a large extent their own laws and customs. Outside of this is the undefined area of the French protectorate, where French rule is merely nominal. Thus, except on the coast, and at one or two stations on the river, France is represented by a number of military officials and a considerable military force. Her occupation — where it exists — of the immense territory claimed by her is so far purely military, involving an annual expenditure on the part of the mother country of about half a million sterling. At

the same time, it should be said that French influence is felt beneficially at interior posts. At several places on the Upper Senegal and its feeders—Kayes, Medina, Bakel, and other places, and even on the Niger, as at Bammako, and in the country between the Niger and Senegal—forts have been built, European houses have been erected, the natives have gathered round in increasing numbers, and "villages of liberty" for freed slaves and captives have been established. As these spread, French influence will become more and more dominant, and it is to be hoped peace will be established among the native chiefs, and the rich resources of at least portions of the interior region be developed to the profit of all.

Spanish claims.

With regard to the Spanish claims already casually referred to, it may be said that they cover a district along the coast from Cape Bojador to Cape Blanco, or about 500 miles. The interior limits are now the subject of negotiations between France and Spain. But according to Spanish authorities treaties have been made with the Sultans of Adrar and neighbouring territories, by which these are placed under Spanish protection, so that the southern limit extends inland some 600 miles towards Timbuktu, and the northern limit 420 miles from the coast towards Tenduf. The Spanish Government formally notified her protectorate to the British Government, but the probability is that Spain will have to modify her interior limits under the pressure of France. The total area within the extreme limits is about 250,000 square miles,—mostly sand.

Such, then, is the present position of the struggle between the three great Powers for supremacy in the region watered by the Niger and the countries grouped around Lake Chad. So far England must be held to have fared best. She possesses the whole of the navigable portion of the lower river and its great tributary the Benue. Some of the richest countries are already within the Niger Company's sphere, and it has the best chance of securing a footing in the others. Germany, it seems probable, will have to be content to remain practically within her present limits. Hitherto France has done little but add to her already extensive territories in Senegambia, and that is still her chief occupation. Whether when she has reached the limits of her enterprise in this direction she will ever succeed in developing a great commerce in Senegal and the Sudan it is impossible to say; at present, after being at work for three centuries, she has not succeeded in getting more than a million sterling worth of exports annually out of her enormous sphere in West Africa.

**Position of the three Powers.**

# CHAPTER XVII

## GERMAN PROGRESS IN WEST AFRICA

German South-west Africa—Delimitation between the German and British spheres in South-west Africa—The resources of South-west Africa—The Cameroons—Delimitations—Administration—Exploration and development of the country—Togoland—Its development—Delimitation—The German sphere in Africa.

**German South-west Africa.**

FOR various reasons German progress in East Africa has been dealt with at greater length than will be necessary in the case of the other spheres of German influence in Africa. East Africa is the most extensive and commercially the most influential of all the German annexations; its short history has been a busy and stirring one; and the methods adopted in East Africa, and referred to in some detail in a preceding chapter, may be taken as typical of German colonial enterprise. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to deal at such length with the course of events in German West Africa since the meeting of the Berlin Congress. At the date of the Berlin Congress Germany had planted her flag on the Gold Coast (Togoland), in the Cameroons, and on the coast lying between the Orange River and the River Cunene. The last-named district is known as German South-west Africa, and with that we shall deal briefly before going farther north. It has already been seen

that both the Home Government and the Cape had to give way at almost every point in face of the unyielding persistence of Prince Bismarck, who would not consent to leave any portion of this coast except Walfish Bay under the British flag. By the beginning of 1885 the inevitable had been recognised both at Downing Street and at Cape Town, and a Joint Commission was appointed to settle details as to frontiers and individual rights. The Commission completed its work in September 1885. By the British memorandum of 24th December 1884 it had virtually been conceded that no objection would be raised to Germany extending her sphere in South-west Africa as far east as 20° east longitude up to the 22nd degree of south latitude. It is true that attempts were made to influence the Damara chiefs against the German protectorate, and to induce them to offer allegiance to England. Private individuals and companies who had obtained concessions from the native chiefs before Germany entered the field, endeavoured to make as much of them as possible. But such attempts met with little encouragement from the Home Government. Certain of the islands off the coast were recognised by Germany as under British suzerainty, though the claims of British subjects to mining rights on the mainland were cut down to somewhat narrow limits. An attempt was even made to establish a republic under the name of Upingtonia in Ovampoland, but without success. The German agents continued to acquire rights over the territories of various chiefs in the interior. By agreement with Portugal of 20th December 1886 the river Cunene was recognised as the boundary

between Portuguese West Africa and German South-west Africa. The dividing line runs directly east to the falls south of Humbe, then on to the Kubango River, along that river to Andara, and then eastwards to the Katima Falls on the Zambesi. In this arrangement with Portugal, as in the Franco-Portuguese arrangement of May 1886, it was recognised that Portugal was at liberty to extend her dominion right across the continent from her West to her East African possessions. Even before this Her Majesty's Minister at Lisbon had drawn attention to the fixed idea that had taken possession of the Portuguese Government that "anything likely to interfere with a free expansion eastwards of Portuguese territory into the heart of the South Africa continent traverses a fixed purpose of Portuguese colonial policy." It was an easy concession for France and Germany to make, as it did not in any way interfere with their respective spheres of influence, but this claim was one that was never recognised by Great Britain.

**Delimitation between the German and British spheres in South-west Africa**

It was only in the Anglo-German agreement of July 1890 that the final delimitation between German South-west Africa and British South Africa was arranged, events meantime having taken place which will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter, and which quite ignored the "fixed purpose of Portuguese colonial policy" above alluded to. By this agreement the Orange River is recognised as the southern limit of German territory as far as 20° E. long. The 20th degree is followed northwards, as the eastern boundary, as far as 22° S. lat., along which the line runs to 21° E. long.

That degree is followed northwards until 18° S. lat. is reached, and along this the boundary runs eastwards as far as the river Chobe, which river is followed until it discharges itself into the Zambesi, 100 miles below the Katima Rapids, which mark the boundary between German and Portuguese territory. This gives to German South-west Africa a total area of some 340,000 square miles, which barely sustain a scanty population of 200,000 natives. The region around Lake Ngami, on which certain German traders professed to have claims, is thus entirely excluded from the German sphere. On the other hand, the precise limits of British territory around Walfish Bay were left to be determined by a Joint Commission, which has so far taken no steps to solve the problem. In fact, though none of the serious military operations which have so materially retarded progress in East Africa have been necessary in South-west Africa, the first of Germany's colonial enterprises has been a constant source of trouble. It was only in October 1885 that the great Damara chief, Kamaherero, was induced to accept German protection, and since then he has on more than one occasion endeavoured to cancel his consent. Other small chiefs could only be induced to come into the fold after troublesome negotiations. Petty wars between the various tribes of Damaras and Namaquas are almost constantly going on, and are embittered by religious fanaticism. The claims of British *concessionnaires* have never been satisfactorily settled, and in 1892 were declared invalid by the German Government. All this, however, and much more would have

been quite endurable had the country itself, in the seven years during which German enterprise has been at work, given much promise of fulfilling the glowing expectations which were formed when the first announcement of its annexation was made.

The resources of South-west Africa.

Herr Lüderitz, of course, soon found that without assistance he himself could never do much to develop the resources of so vast a region. In the spring of 1885, therefore, he made over his rights, for the sum of 300,000 marks, to a German Colonial Society for South-west Africa, which was incorporated by the Imperial Government, with a capital of 1,200,000 marks, which could be increased. At the same time an Imperial Commission was appointed to administer the territory on behalf of the German Government. Courts were established, and a military force provided. Here, as in East Africa and elsewhere, the Germans set themselves with zeal and intelligence to the exploration of their territory, with a view to ascertain what were its real resources. Expeditions were sent out in various directions. They were accompanied by a thoroughly qualified scientific staff, and the result is that we have now a very complete idea of the character and resources of Germany's first colony. These are not greatly encouraging. The country is incapable of sustaining a much greater population than exists at present. Experimental farms have been established, but the results have not been favourable. The rainfall and the surface water supply are nearly as scanty as in the Sahara. Cattle and sheep can without doubt be reared, but to a limited extent compared with

the great area. German farmers might possibly find a home in the higher regions of the interior, but only in the scantiest numbers; as a field for European emigration Damaraland and Namaqualand are scarcely worth considering, so far as our present knowledge goes. But it was the much-vaunted mining resources of the country from which rich returns were expected. It was hoped that copper would be found as abundantly in the German protectorate as it has been in the north-west of Cape Colony. But the reports of German experts do not leave much room for hope. Copper no doubt has been found in the interior, and could it be cheaply worked on the spot, and cheaply conveyed to a convenient harbour on the coast, it might pay in a small way. To quote the words of Dr. Schinz, who has himself made a very thorough exploration of this country, and published his detailed results in a volume of considerable size:—"It is well known how little was realised of Lüderitz's extravagant hopes. The chief cause of the failure of the undertaking was, no doubt, the inhospitality of the country, and the sand along the coast made the connection with the better land in the interior so difficult that the mineral deposits could only be worked under exceptionally favourable circumstances. But, inasmuch as the prospecting work of the miners disclosed no deposits or veins worthy of mention, the life-thread of the whole undertaking was cut in twain. The trade with the natives also amounted to nothing from the beginning, for the natives possessed nothing to give in exchange for the goods offered."

When it is remembered that Dr. Schinz was sent out

by the German South-west Africa Company, his report is all the more striking, and especially the following frank admission :—

"It is not to be denied that the Damaras are averse to the German protection. This aversion is constantly increasing, and the cause is undoubtedly due in part to the fact that the Germans have so far shown an inability to satisfactorily protect the Damaras against the robbing hordes of Hendrik Wittboi."

It is not surprising, then, that at various times there have been rumours that Germany would be glad to get rid of her 340,000 square miles of desert. As an appendage of a settled and progressive and comparatively populous country like Cape Colony, this region, barren as it is, might be turned to some account, as a source of food supply; for it is not denied that the natives do rear cattle in considerable numbers. But as an independent colony with an expensive administration, little suited for white settlement, with a scanty native population constantly engaged in inter-tribal wars, it must always be an expensive luxury. Negotiations have on more than one occasion been on foot for making the country over to a British syndicate, and that with the approval of the German Government; but these at first met with violent protests from the extreme colonial party in Germany. A compromise has been attempted in the formation of an Anglo-German Company, supported to a great extent by British capital. Under the auspices of this Company a well-equipped expedition left England in the autumn of 1892 for the purpose of prospecting and initiating

steps for the development of what resources the country possesses. With a country whose agricultural capabilities are of the narrowest kind, whose mining resources are doubtful, with only one harbour of any value and that in British hands, what can be done? Under the old régime, with a few missionary traders, who were quite sufficient to supply all native wants, and a limited export of cattle, everybody was satisfied, and the country was slowly emerging from barbarism. But with an administration which demands a large yearly grant from the German Parliament, and a Company that with its subordinate companies has already sunk a comparatively enormous capital, how can the desert ever be expected to yield any return? Since the Cape railway has been extended to Kimberley even the export of cattle and sheep has almost ceased. Still it is in this direction, if in any, that the country has a future, and if careful experiments were made with sheep-rearing, the export of wool might in time render this a profitable industry. And it should be remembered that the colony abuts for one hundred miles on the Zambesi, and might possibly, if suitable measures were taken, be made a route for part at least of the Central African interior.

The Cameroons.

To turn to the much more hopeful region of the Cameroons. It was found that, by the time the Berlin Congress met, Germany was fairly in possession here, and, following her usual method, had already read the natives "a sharp lesson." This policy had to be carried out on several occasions, so that it was not till the first half of 1886 that all the coast chiefs, and those middle

men just behind the coast who had been in the habit of tapping the interior trade, were fairly subdued and reconciled to the German suzerainty.

Delimitations.

On either side Germany had England and France as her neighbours, the former, it will be remembered, having been just in time to secure the Oil Rivers. An arrangement as to the northern limit of the German Cameroons territory was come to with England in May 1885. This arrangement was modified in August 1886, and finally settled by the famous Anglo-German agreement of July 1890. The boundary was at first drawn along the Rio del Rey, which subsequent exploration proved to be only a creek. From this creek the line ran in a generally north-east direction to Yola, a town on the Upper Benue, provision being made that each power will be allowed free passage to Lake Chad through any territories acquired by the other on the north of the Benue and east of Yola. This practically leaves the whole of the country of Adamawa within the German sphere, although the precise delimitation between the British and German spheres has yet to be arranged. With France, Germany had no difficulty in making an arrangement as to the southern boundary of her newly-acquired territory. On December 24, 1885, an arrangement was agreed to by which the limit between the German Cameroons and the French Gaboon should run eastwards from the mouth of the Rio Campo to 15° east longitude. Although the two Powers undertook not to make acquisitions beyond the line thus fixed as far as 15° E., no stipulations were made as to acquisitions on the east of this; just as Germany did not undertake not

to press to the north of the Benué east of Yola. As a matter of fact, the arrangement between France and the Congo Free State implied that the former might come behind the German sphere as far north at least as 4° N. latitude, which indeed she has done, and has had no hesitation in endeavouring to continue her Congo territory north to the shores of Lake Chad. Here, however, she has not only Germany as a competitor, but, as has been seen, the ever alert and active British Niger Company. The arrangements referred to made Germany feel at ease with respect to her northern and southern boundaries, and left her at liberty to take stock of her acquisition, establish her supremacy in the interior, and proceed to develop its resources. As in other African arrangements, so in that relating to the Cameroons, there were assured to the subjects of the Signatory Powers freedom of trade and navigation, the exclusion of differential tariffs, and other privileges which in practice are found to have little value. Finally, to leave Germany a perfectly free hand, the British Government ignored certain treaties made in the name of England by a zealous Pole, M. Rogozinski; and the station at Victoria, in Ambas Bay, which had been occupied by English missionaries for forty years, was made over to Germany for a payment of £4000 to the Missionary Society.

Administration.

Early in 1885 Bismarck, in spite of the continued opposition of the anti-colonial party, easily succeeded in carrying the votes necessary for establishing the Cameroons as a Crown Colony. A Governor, with a considerable staff of officials, was appointed, and all the

machinery of government after German methods established. A series of ordinances was promulgated, imposing dues and taxes of various kinds, and especially levying very heavy duties on the import of spirits. Notwithstanding the express request of Prince Bismarck, the traders in the Cameroons shrank from forming themselves into a corporation for regulating local affairs, so that the Governor had to take cognisance of local as well as of more general matters of government. The total area included in the Cameroons is about 130,000 square miles, taking 15° E. as the outside limit, with a population estimated roughly at 2½ millions, a marked contrast to the conditions which prevail farther south. Indeed here we are in one of the most thickly populated regions of Africa, especially along the coast and the creeks, and at many points in the interior.

The natives belong mainly to the Bantu stock, of the same type as the Zulus. They are keen traders, but the Germans found all their efforts to open up the interior barred by those tribes which inhabit the districts in the immediate interior, and act as middlemen between the people of the interior and the traders on the coast. Here, as in their other African possessions, the Germans lost no time in sending out expeditions to open up the interior, under such tried leaders as Kund and Tappenbeck, Zintgraff and Morgen. These expeditions, as is usual with such German enterprises, were partly military and partly exploratory. In attempting to break through the cordon of middlemen, serious disasters happened to the first expedition under Lieutenant Kund. However, Germany meant to succeed, and in a

marvellously short time established stations at various points in the interior; as at Ye-unde, to the south of the Sanaga River, which had been explored; at Baromhi, on Elephant Lake, to the north of Cameroons Mountains; and at Bali, on the plateau far in the interior, towards the Benué, in a region of rich grass land, with abundance of trees. A fair knowledge has been obtained of the interior, of which we were previously almost absolutely ignorant.

Exploration and development of the country.

Germany, like France, has her eye on Lake Chad, and large sums have been voted by the Reichstag for the purpose of extending German influence to that lake. An expedition under Dr. Zintgraff and Lieutenant Morgen, accompanied by a military force and representatives of the trading firms interested in the Cameroons, endeavoured in 1890 to reach Bagirmi from the station of Bali as a starting-point. But the expedition met with a severe check from the natives; many of its members were killed, and Lieutenant Morgen had to make the best of his way down the Benué. Germany has, however, succeeded in firmly securing her influence, not only on the coast but at many important points in the interior, for notwithstanding the fighting that has taken place there have been no "atrocities" on the German side. It has been a "fair stand-up fight" between Germans and natives in which, although there have been defeats and losses, the Europeans have on the whole prevailed. What can be made of that interior remains to be seen; the Germans have here the same problem to solve that must be solved by other European Powers who have undertaken

the development of tropical Africa. But it may be worth noticing that besides the Cameroons Mountains there are several heights that rise above the plateau in the interior to from 8000 to 10,000 feet above sea-level, which may in future prove useful as sanatoria. Meantime on the coast the busy trade established by British subjects continues to be carried on and increased by their German successors. The German "Plantagen-Gesellschaft" has established plantations of cocoa-palms, cacao, tobacco, sugar, cotton, and other cultures, some of which at least have given successful results. The palm-oil and palm-kernel trade is so far the most lucrative, though even yet British vessels do as much trade in this as is done by German vessels. Instead of the river hulks in which the old traders used to live, good houses of stone are now to be seen on the banks of the Cameroons River, in which officials and merchants are able to lead fairly comfortable lives. Macadamised roads surround all the coast settlements, while experimental stations and botanical gardens give an air of civilisation to the country. Still the total number of whites does not much exceed one hundred, of whom about one-fourth are English. Besides several smaller plantations, there are five on a much larger scale, the cacao, tobacco, vanilla, and coffee of which fetch excellent prices in the European markets. On one of these plantations there are 100,000 cacao trees.

Altogether, the Cameroons is one of the most prosperous and promising of German colonies, thanks partly to the energy and administrative skill of its governor for five years, Baron von Soden. Its revenue in 1890

was 290,000 marks, which of course had to be supplemented by a grant from the mother country of twice that amount, besides special subsidies for expeditions. Unless, however, some serious check occurs to the progress of the colony, it ought in a few years to be able to pay for its own administration, and leave a margin for the execution of public works. Unlike France and England, Germany does not over-burden her colonies with officials, nor are these paid on anything like the same scale as those who swarm in our own Crown colonies.

Togoland.

Of all the German colonies in Africa the little block of some 16,000 square miles (in its greatest extent) on the Gold Coast, known as Togoland, has so far been decidedly the most prosperous. It will be remembered that it was the first spot on which Dr. Nachtigal raised the German flag. Already considerable trade was established on the coast. It forms one of the highways to and from the thickly-populated portion of the Sudan. It is of limited extent, with a population roughly estimated at 500,000. No expenditure for formidable expeditions into the interior has been necessary, while its administration is simple and inexpensive. It is placed under an Imperial Commissioner, with a Secretary and Inspector of Customs, and unlike the other colonies it has a local council consisting of representatives of the merchants. An armed police force of thirty negroes is sufficient to maintain order. The country is capable of growing almost any tropical products, while the forests abound in oil palms, caoutchouc and other woods; though so far the commerce is almost entirely a barter trade for palm oil and ivory. Still, nearly

one hundred vessels, of about 100,000 tons, call at the ports of the colony in the course of the year.

Its development.

Togoland has about thirty-five miles of coast, and is wedged in between French territory on the east and the British Gold Coast on the west. The approximate limits east and west were arranged soon after the annexation. But here, as in the Cameroons, the Germans did not content themselves with squatting on the coast and waiting for any trade that might come to them. Beginning in 1885, a series of expeditions penetrated the interior, under such leaders as Dr. Krause, Von Francois, Kling, and Dr. Wolff, some of them reaching as far as Mossi, well within the great bend of the Niger. Some 130 miles in the interior a station, under the appropriate name of Bismarcksburg, has been founded, and this is the point of departure of most of the expeditions to the interior. Only five days from the coast another station, Misa-Hoehe, has been founded in what is supposed to be a particularly healthy situation. The river Volta, which forms the western boundary of the colony, has been proved to be navigable by steam for some 200 miles, a fact of great importance for the commercial development of the country. The total commerce of the colony is valued at £250,000, of which about £150,000 stand for exports. But the duties levied almost pay the expenses of administration. The German Togoland Company, founded in 1888 with a view both to commercial operations and to the establishment of plantations, has already been successful in both directions; experimental stations are at work in several localities.

It was only by the Anglo-German Agreement of July 1890 that the boundary between the British Gold Coast and German Togoland was definitely settled, although the coast delimitation was arranged by Joint Commissions in July 1886 at 1° 10′ E. longitude. The boundary runs north a short distance to 6° 10′ N. latitude, then westwards to the river Aka, which it follows up to 6° 20′ N. latitude; still westwards again to the Showe River till it comes opposite the junction of the Denie with the Volta. The boundary again runs west to the Volta, and follows that river up to about 8° 10′ N. latitude, where it reaches a neutral zone agreed upon in 1888. This leaves the populous market town of Salaga, a great emporium for trade with the interior, outside the German sphere. But, as on the French side, the boundary will ultimately be drawn to 9° N. latitude, it remains for future negotiations to decide whether Salaga will be included in the British or the German spheres. As the Volta itself is in its lower course within British territory, it is doubtful how far its navigability may be of advantage to German trade. As will have been seen in a former chapter, it will scarcely be possible for either the Gold Coast or Germany to push their spheres beyond 9° N. latitude, as the French on the one side, and the Royal Niger Company on the other, have by their treaties with the native chiefs practically barred the way to the interior. Still commercial competition may do much, and the trade from the interior is likely to take the path of least resistance. But should Germany be confined within her present somewhat narrow limits in Togoland, the country is

Delimitation.

populous enough and its resources abundant enough to yield a good return to modest commercial enterprise.

The German sphere in Africa.

Even in these days of steam and telegraph seven years is too short a period on which to base any prophecies as to the future of Germany's African empire, covering as it does some 900,000 square miles, with a comparatively scanty population of savages, and with a climate which, so far as experience goes, renders it on the whole quite unsuited to European settlement. Germany has scarcely got beyond the *Sturm und Drang* period of her colonial policy in Africa, and she has had all her experience to gain. What course would be most likely in the future to yield the best results, will be discussed in a future chapter. It is to be hoped that no further harsh military methods will be necessary either in East or West Africa, but that the trader and the planter may now be able to pursue their callings in peace. So far the results of the wholesale annexations in Africa have produced no appreciable difference on the commerce of Germany; in another seven years we ought to be able to tell a different tale. When we remember the many years which it took before European contact with India, America, and Australia produced any substantial results, there is no need to despair of German enterprise in Africa, even though it has to deal with the most repellent of all the continents.

# CHAPTER XVIII

## BRITISH EAST AFRICA

Former position of England at Zanzibar—Initiation of the British East Africa Company—Extent of the Sultan's territories—Witu—Hesitations of British Government — The Sultan's territories defined — Delimitation of British and German spheres — The British East Africa Association—Imperial British East Africa Company's Charter — The Company's difficult task — The Company's work — Initial troubles—Pioneer expeditions—Dr. Peters attempts to outflank the Company—Anglo-German agreement of 1890—Emin Pasha—The Company's stations—Communications—A railway—British occupation of Uganda—Captain Lugard—Treaty with King of Uganda—Lugard extends British occupation westwards—Trouble in Uganda—The Company decide to abandon Uganda—Action of the Government—Work accomplished by the Company—British protectorate in Zanzibar and Pemba.

Former position of England at Zanzibar.

IN a previous chapter it has been necessary to make passing reference to the British sphere in East Africa in dealing with German enterprise in the same region. The history of British and German annexations in East Africa has had so much in common that this was inevitable, and it may not be possible altogether to avoid traversing part at least of the common ground again. The long and intimate relations of England with Zanzibar have been sufficiently dwelt upon. The premature offer of the Sultan in 1878 to lease the whole of his territories, except the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, to Mr. (now Sir) William Mackinnon, has

been referred to; not even the Earl of Beaconsfield's imperialism was equal to such an opportunity. By that time German commercial, if not imperial, enterprise had found a field at Zanzibar. German houses had established agencies there, and the cheap goods they placed in the market did much to interfere with British trade; the Blue Books presented to Parliament between 1880 and 1885 contain frequent reference to the growing influence of Germany at Zanzibar. It was not, however, as has been seen, till 1884 that serious alarm was felt, though five years before that Sir Bartle Frere expressed anxiety concerning German designs in Africa. The watchful Sir John Kirk, moreover, whose influence was then supreme at the Court of the Sultan, did his best to arouse an incredulous Government. The mild remonstrances of Lord Granville with respect to the mission of Dr. Rohlfs have been referred to in a preceding chapter; and enough has been said as to the trickiness of the expedition under Dr. Peters, which effected the first annexations for Germany in East Africa. That was in the beginning of 1885. Then began that long correspondence between the Foreign Offices of London and Berlin, which cannot even now be read without some feeling of humiliation. The poor Sultan Burghash awoke to the fact that the irresistible Germans threatened to annex every scrap of land which he claimed on the continent of Africa; for it must be borne in mind that he regarded himself as sovereign of all East Africa as far as Lake Tanganyika. Once more he appealed to his old friend Sir William Mackinnon, and besought him by

telegraph to accept a concession which would enable a British Company to occupy and work the limited sphere thus reserved to British influence. Mr. H. H. Johnston, it will be remembered, had obtained from a chief on Kilimanjaro a document which might be regarded as giving a concession of territory. This document Mr. Johnston made over to a Manchester merchant; and this may be regarded as the basis or starting-point of the British East Africa Company.

Initiation of the British East Africa Company.

The famous despatch of Lord Granville to Sir E. Malet, the British representative at Berlin, of 25th May 1885, has been already referred to; but we may quote its actual words here, as they are full of significance. "I have to request your Excellency to state that the supposition that Her Majesty's Government have no intention of opposing the German scheme of colonisation in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar is absolutely correct. Her Majesty's Government, on the contrary, view with favour these schemes, the realisation of which will entail the civilisation of large tracts over which hitherto no European influence has been exercised, the co-operation of Germany with Great Britain in the work of the suppression of the slave-gangs, and the encouragement of the efforts of the Sultan both in the extinction of the slave-trade and in the commercial development of his dominions.

"I should wish your Excellency, while speaking in this sense to the Chancellor, to inform him that a scheme has been started in this country under which, if it is realised, the efforts of German enterprise may be supported indirectly by British enterprise. You will

explain that some prominent capitalists have originated a plan for a British settlement in the country between the coast and the Lakes which are the sources of the White Nile, and for its connection with the coast by a railway. In order to obtain fair security for their outlay, they propose to endeavour to procure concessions from the Sultan of a comprehensive character. Her Majesty's Government have the scheme under their consideration, but they would not support it unless they were fully satisfied that every precaution were taken to ensure that it would in no way conflict with the interests of the territory that has been taken under German protectorate, nor affect that part of the Sultan's dominions lying between that territory and the sea. Their wish would be to avoid any clashing of interests such as might have taken place, had it not been averted, on the Gulf of Guinea. For this reason they wish at once to inform Prince Bismarck of the existence of the scheme before taking any steps respecting it, in order that he may at once satisfy himself of their earnest wish to avoid the possibility of misunderstanding by frank explanations."

This despatch was written a little more than a year after Germany had taken the first step towards the acquisition of foreign possessions, by planting her foot on African soil at Angra Pequeña. It is indicative of the radical change that had taken place in the British Government towards German colonial enterprise on the one hand, and to the extension of British influence in Africa on the other. Within these few months the Imperial spirit in England had acquired an enormous

expansion ; it had been recognised that at last Africa's turn for partition had come, and that it was to the interest of the British Empire that we should acquire as large a share of the spoil as possible.

Extent of the Sultan's territories.

So far Germany had only asserted claims to a few of the native states in the interior opposite Zanzibar, and well to the south of the Pangani river and Kilimanjaro. She recognised the rights of the Sultan over some thirty points on the coast from Tungi Bay on the south, to Warsheikh on the north, where the Sultan had established forts or custom-houses ; the intervening spaces Germany declared were independent, though in the end, as has been seen, the Chancellor conceded to the Sultan a ten-mile strip of coast between the points named, and immediate control over the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia. The elaborate memorandum already referred to, showing some acquaintance with the history of Muscat and Zanzibar, and of the relations of the British Government with both, endeavoured to prove that in the interior away from the coast the Sultan was merely a trader, with no more jurisdiction than any other trader. At his custom-houses on the coast he levied dues on exports from the interior, and his strong aversion to the abolition of the trade in slaves was that the dues on this commodity formed the most important part of his revenue. Sir John Kirk, whose acquaintance with the history of East Africa was of the most intimate kind, was able to point out many errors and misconceptions in Prince Bismarck's historical memorandum, but was not able to shake the claims based upon it. Lord Granville virtually acknowledged

the justice of Germany's contentions; England as well as Germany was left free to treat with the Sultan and make annexations in the interior. Unfortunately, future arrangements between the two annexing powers were, for a time at least, hampered by the declaration of a German protectorate over the small Sultanate of

Witu. Witu, at the mouth of the river Tana, some hundreds of miles to the north of the region where Dr. Peters and his friends had initiated German enterprise. The contention was that the Sultan of Zanzibar had no claim whatever on Witu, nor indeed, as has been seen, on the islands of Lamu, Manda, and Patta, which lay off the Witu coast. Had the German occupation of Witu been permanent, and the German pretensions to Lamu and Patta been maintained, British enterprise in East Africa would have been severely hampered. In this critical stage of the creation of the British East Africa Company those interested in its formation were seriously embarrassed by the timidity of the British Foreign Office. German adventurers had a perfectly free hand in making annexations all along the coast and in the interior, while the British capitalists were held back by the Government, in order that no offence might be given to Prince Bismarck. Happily for British interests, the course of events compelled Germany to seek the friendly co-operation of England in securing German interests on the Zanzibar coast, and in return she withdrew all claims to any territory to the north of what ultimately became the British sphere.

Hesitations of British Government. Meantime, as has been seen, Germany was securing her position and extending her claims in the region to

the south of Kilimanjaro. In reply to the memorandum from Lord Granville quoted above, Prince Bismarck could not say whether the scheme of the British capitalists somewhat tersely broached by the English Minister would affect German interests, and therefore would be "grateful if Lord Granville would defer any decision with regard to the therein-mentioned projects of English capitalists" until the German subjects interested showed what their claims were. The British merchants referred to were waiting impatiently to begin operations, but were still kept in check by the Foreign Office, while their German rivals were extending their operations and securing a footing in the interior. At an interview which Count Bismarck had with Sir E. Malet in June 1885, the son of the Chancellor stated that "certain German explorers had been for some time in the interior, though it was not known actually where, and that they might have concluded treaties with local chiefs which might possibly be within the limits of the English scheme. Even if this were the case, he thought that an understanding rounding off the different territories could always be come to between the two Governments in a friendly manner, as had recently been done on the West Coast." It is evident from this that no active step had been taken on the part of England to secure actual possession of any territory in East Africa in the middle of 1885, although Prince Bismarck admitted in a general way that England had claims as well as Germany, and in an interview which the German Ambassador had with the Marquis of

Salisbury on 30th June 1885, the former proposed that "an impartial commission" should be appointed to delimit "the true territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar from the country which was occupied by the subjects of the German Emperor." This quickly developed into a commission for the delimitation of the British and German spheres.

During all these negotiations, which resulted so largely in favour of Germany, Sir John Kirk was doing his best at Zanzibar to secure the interests of the Sultan and of England; but he met with little or no encouragement from London. Happily, through the persistent efforts of himself and others, the result was by no means so disastrous as it might have been. It could hardly be regarded as any consolation by Sir John that Germany ostentatiously joined England and France in the engagement into which they entered in 1862 to respect the independence of the Sultan, an independence which Germany was doing its best to undermine, and which finally vanished under British "protection." The Sultan's despairing attempt (whether conceived by himself or not) to secure the Kilimanjaro region, the gem of all this part of Africa, in the middle of 1885, was too late; in the end the district was swept within the German sphere. A few days after the Sultan's representative had been at Kilimanjaro, Dr. Jühlke, a representative of German interests, followed, and obtained from the unstable chief Mandara an assurance that he had never made any concessions either to the Sultan or to the English, and that his only desire was to place himself and his country

under the protection of Germany. An international commission, British, German, and French, was appointed in the end of 1885, in order to carry out the delimitation of the Sultan's territories. Until the Commission had concluded its inquiries, the British Government agreed to allow the scheme to which the attention of British capitalists had been turned, and which, it was understood, was based on the concession obtained by Mr. Johnston, to remain in abeyance, though these capitalists, when the Delimitation Commission had been appointed, felt desirous of taking some steps to start their enterprise. While the embryo English Company was thus restrained from pushing its supposed claims, and actively entering upon operations, the agents of the German Company were given a free hand by their Government on the ground apparently that they were private adventurers, and that any acquisitions they might obtain would be subject to the decision arrived at by the Commissioners. This position of affairs did not commend itself to the Earl of Rosebery, who succeeded Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office in February 1886, and under whom negotiations were carried on for a few months in that year. He plainly informed the German Government that if the German adventurers were not restrained from their advances on Kilimanjaro he could not restrain the British Company from sending agents to secure its rights.

The Sultan's territories defined.

The labours of the Joint Commissioners proceeded very slowly, and were ended by Germany declaring that their decision was valid only when unanimous. The German Commissioner, therefore, had it in his power

to dictate to his colleagues. The labours of the Commissioners thus ended without definite result. In October 1886 Prince Bismarck sent a commissioner to London to arrange matters with the Foreign Office there. Before the end of the month an arrangement was concluded, and in October and November 1886 the British and German Governments came to a mutual agreement recognising the sovereignty of the Sultan over a strip of coast ten miles wide, extending from Tungi Bay to Kipini, and the stations of Kismayu, Brava, Merka, and Magadoshu on the north, with radii landwards of ten miles, and Warsheikh with a radius of five miles; also over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and the small islands within a radius of twelve miles, as well as over the islands of Lamu and Patta. This was accepted by France and by the Sultan. In the same document both powers agreed to establish a delimitation of their respective spheres of influence on this portion of the East African continent, analogous to that by which they fixed the boundaries of their territories in the Gulf of Guinea. The whole territory to which the delimitation was to apply extended from the Rovuma River on the south, to the Tana River on the north. The northern boundary followed the Tana River to the point of intersection of the equator and the 38th degree of east longitude; thence it struck direct to the point of intersection of the first degree of north latitude with the 37th degree of east longitude. These limitations, as has been seen in a previous chapter, led to complications, and were for a time a source of trouble to the British Company. It left not only the country north

**Delimitation of British and German spheres.**

of the Tana free to the enterprise of adventurous Germans, but also the country to the north-west of the British sphere, including Uganda, so that England might have been entirely shut out from the interior. It is difficult now to understand why the boundary should have been so loosely drawn, why those who had charge of British interests should have consented to an arrangement which threatened to confine British enterprise to the coast. Indeed at one time the British Foreign Office seems to have decided to be content with an interior limit represented by a line drawn from the upper Tana directly south to Kilimanjaro, and so cutting off the British trade from all access to the Lake. Happily the course of events rescued England from the results of the short-sightedness of her diplomatists.

The territory lying between the boundaries referred to was divided between Germany and England, much to the advantage of the former so far as area goes. The line started from the river Wanga or Umba, and after bisecting the country of the important Wadego tribe, ran in a generally north-west direction to the eastern side of Lake Victoria at a point touched by the first degree of south latitude. Practically, as has been seen, the whole of the mass of Kilimanjaro was given to Germany, though there is reason to believe that her representatives would have been content to allow a part of it to remain within the British sphere. It is a pity that so much of the mountain as would have served for a sanatorium was not secured for Great Britain. The leading spirit among the British capitalists referred to in

the despatches was Mr. (now Sir) William Mackinnon; he in conjunction with the late Mr. Hutton of Manchester, and one or two others, had subscribed the funds for a prospecting expedition to Kilimanjaro, on the faith of the concession obtained by Mr. Johnston; but as the mountain was cut out of the British sphere, the expedition led to no results so far as British interests were concerned.

Ignorance of the geography of the extensive region dealt with no doubt led to complications and difficulties; it prevented the laying down of the boundaries with a precision that would avoid misunderstandings. Even at the point on the coast from which the line dividing the two spheres started, the reference to the "river Umba or Wanga" left the door open for a misunderstanding of which the Germans were not slow to take advantage. There is no Wanga River; the only water known by that name is a creek, there being a village Wanga two miles north of the Umba. By a quibble the German traders attempted to drive the boundary north to Wanga, which they wished to include in their sphere. Clear as was its title, the British Company had virtually to submit to arbitration. Yet the German officer who was sent to examine the creek came back with the conviction that his countrymen had not the shadow of a claim to a foot of land north of the Umba. This is a sample of the many petty vexations to which the British Company had to submit before its sphere was finally settled between the two Governments. But this is anticipating events.

The first Anglo-German agreement, as has been

seen, was concluded at the end of 1886. Under the presidency of Sir William Mackinnon, the British capitalists referred to above, and others, formed themselves into the British East Africa Association, and set themselves to acquire rights over the territory which had been rescued from Germany as the British sphere. Sir William Mackinnon, it has already been seen, had for long been a favourite with Sayyid Burghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, and he had no difficulty in obtaining from the Sultan, under date May 24, 1887, a concession of the ten-mile strip of coast from the Umba on the south to Kipini at the mouth of the Tana River on the north. This concession was to be for a term of fifty years. The Company was to have the entire administration of the territory in the Sultan's name. In consideration for this concession the Sultan was to receive the whole amount of the customs dues which he received at the date of the concession, in addition to 50 per cent of the additional net revenue which might accrue to the Company for the customs duties of the ports included in the concession. About the same date agreements were made with a considerable number of native chiefs in and around the main concession, which served to complete and extend the grant made by the Sultan. With these concessions in their hands the Association of British capitalists had no hesitation in approaching Her Majesty's Government praying that they might be incorporated by Royal Charter as the Imperial British East Africa Company. There was no difficulty in obtaining such a charter (September 3, 1888), into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter. It

The British East Africa Association.

practically authorised the Company to administer the territory which had been leased to it by the Sultan, and any other territories which might be acquired in the future.

Imperial British East Africa Company's Charter.

No important step was to be taken without the consent of Her Majesty's Secretary of State; everything possible was to be done to develop the territory and suppress the slave-trade. Administrators were to be appointed, provision made for the administration of justice, and for the conduct of the affairs of this new section of the empire on the system of a Crown Colony, so far as that was possible under the conditions. The position thus created for the British East Africa Company, like the position of other chartered companies, was a peculiar one. The extensive area embraced in the limits indicated above, some 200,000 square miles, was virtually declared a part of the British Empire under the designation of "sphere of influence." Government spent nothing upon it, appointed no officers to administer it, undertook no direct control of its affairs. The Company, by its charter, represented the British Government, and carried on all the functions delegated by Government to a Colonial administration. Out of its own resources the Company had to carry on its trade, develop the commercial resources of the country, and endeavour to reap dividends for its shareholders. At the same time it was bound to establish an administration in its various branches, pay a governor and many officials, maintain a small army, and endeavour to push its way farther and farther into the interior. This it had to do also under the restrictions of the Berlin Act, and barred the privilege by the treaty obligations with the Sultanate

from levying taxes. This privilege was promised, but the promise has never been fulfilled.

The Company's difficult task.

Obviously for a Company to open up and administer an extensive territory in a continent like Africa, having little or no analogies with India, a very considerable capital would be required, or the country must be of such a character as would yield a fair return on outlay more or less immediate. In the Niger region there is plenty of trade to be done in native products likely to yield a fair return, and the Niger Company is authorised to levy considerable dues. In the sphere allotted to the British South Africa Company there is reported to be abundance of gold; those interested in its development have large capital at their command; expensive exploring expeditions and the maintenance of many stations are not demanded; and much work is done by private prospectors. In British East Africa the whole work of development devolved on the Company; and by its charter it was even prohibited from exercising any monopoly of trade. It is probable that had the founders of the Company, with Sir William Mackinnon at their head,[1] not been to some extent carried away by a patriotic spirit, they would never have cast their money into a concern out of which they could hardly

[1] The founders and first directors of the Company, whose names were appended to the petition for the Charter, were Sir William Mackinnon, Bart.; the Right Hon. Lord Brassey; Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart.; General Sir Donald M. Stewart, Bart.; Sir John Kirk; General Sir Arnold B. Kemball; General Sir Lewis Pelly; Colonel Sir Francis de Winton; W. Burdett-Coutts, Esq.; Alexander J. Bruce, Esq.; James M. Hall, Esq.; Robert R. Harding, Esq.; James F. Hutton, Esq.; George S. Mackenzie, Esq.; Robert Ryrie, Esq.

expect to receive any return during their own life-time.

The founders subscribed £240,000 among them; but although the nominal capital was two millions sterling, the actual capital at the command of the Company has never much exceeded half a million sterling, and of this not more than £300,000 has been called up during the five years of the Company's existence.

The Company's work.

After it obtained its charter the Company lost no time in setting to work to take possession of its field, to establish an administration, to send out pioneer expeditions, to lay down routes to the interior, and to choose positions for stations. The tract lying between the coast-line allotted to the Company and the great Lake, which was its vague boundary in the interior, was known only in a very general way. The coast had been to some extent surveyed, though of the actual value of the harbours we had no very precise information. The Tana River was known in a general way up to a certain distance, but its course was very inaccurately laid down. Travellers like Thomson and Fischer had traversed the country from the coast to Kilimanjaro, and northwards to Mount Kenia. Much information as to the country and people had been obtained through the Arabs who traded with caravans. The knowledge we did possess of the interior did not promise much to commercial enterprise; and it was feared that the Masai tribes, with their warlike reputation, would be a great obstacle to the Company's operations. But the Company went to work with promptness and business-like intelligence. The leading spirit in

initiating operations on the spot was Mr. George S. Mackenzie, who had already had great experience in Persia with populations not far removed from the type to be met with in East Africa; he was appointed by the Company the first administrator, with the approval of Her Majesty's Government. When Mr. Mackenzie arrived in Zanzibar in October 1888 he found that Burghash had died, and that his brother Khalifa occupied the throne of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Khalifa not only ratified the original concession, but by another document granted further important facilities to the Company for the carrying out of the privileges which had been accorded by his predecessor. The Sultan even lent the services of his commander-in-chief, General Mathews (a retired lieutenant in the British Navy), to enable Mr. Mackenzie to inaugurate the Company at Mombasa, the ancient Arabo-Portuguese port, which was to be the Company's headquarters. At this time it will be remembered the German section of East Africa broke out into open rebellion. Naturally the natives in the British sphere were excited, and it required great tact and care in order to avoid a collision. Unfortunately also the excessive anti-slavery zeal of the missionaries had complicated matters, and greatly irritated the Arab population, whose friendliness it was desirable to secure. Mr. Mackenzie had a trying task to face; many domestic slaves had fled from their masters and taken refuge with the missionaries, who refused to deliver them up. The question of domestic slavery in Africa is a difficult one, which cannot be discussed in this place. It must not, however, be confounded with slave-raiding and

**Initial troubles.**

slave-export. It is a universal institution in Africa, and to attempt suddenly to suppress it would lead to anarchy and disorganisation over the whole continent. It is an institution which will only melt away as commerce, enlightenment, and civilisation advance, and for the missionaries to blindly interfere in the matter is to defeat the great object which they have in view. Happily Mr. Mackenzie was able to deal with the particular case in a way which satisfied all parties except those who are fanatically opposed to all compromise. He was able to liberate some 1400 slaves, and to make such arrangements as would enable any slaves within the British sphere to purchase their own freedom within a few months. This course satisfied Arabs, natives, and missionaries alike, and at once established the reputation of the Company for fair dealing.

Pioneer expeditions.

Fortunately, also, the troubles in the German sphere did not spread to that of England, although as has been seen the latter co-operated with Germany in the blockade of the coast. Mr. Mackenzie set about improving Mombasa, town and harbour. One of Her Majesty's ships surveyed the latter. Works were begun which greatly facilitated navigation; a light railway was constructed on the island, and suitable buildings were begun on the mainland. Mr. Mackenzie visited all the chief ports and made arrangements to facilitate the Company's operations. Caravans were at once sent into the interior, in various directions, to open up relations with the natives, to obtain a better knowledge of the country, and to ascertain the best

routes to the interior. One of these in a very short time established stations as far as Machako's, an important centre 250 miles from the coast. Another proceeded north to the Tana River to open up relations with the chiefs in that part of the territory, and push on towards Mount Kenia. These two caravans, under Mr. F. J. Jackson and Mr. Piggott, did excellent work in exploration and in establishing the Company's influence along the Tana and eventually as far as Uganda. Within six months after Mr. Mackenzie's arrival the Company's officials were fairly established in the territory, and the active work of opening up the country was well begun.

Dr. Peters attempts to outflank the Company.

It was not, however, only in the German sphere to the south of the Company's territories that the Company was threatened with difficulties in carrying on its work. The position of Germany in Witu at the mouth of the Tana was shown in a previous chapter; and it was also pointed out that this patch of German territory was utilised by Dr. Peters as a starting-point from which to hamper the Company on the north by attempting to obtain concessions which would shut it out entirely from the interior. Shortly after the Company's expeditions were sent out towards the Tana River and the north-west, Dr. Peters succeeded in evading the British vessels which were blockading the coast, and notwithstanding the disapproval of the German authorities, he landed in Witu and organised an expedition up the river Tana. His ostensible purpose was to reach and relieve Emin Pasha, who was believed to be hemmed in by the Mahdiists at Wadelai on the Upper Nile; Mr. Stanley

had set out (*viâ* the Congo) for his rescue in January 1887. Dr. Peters and the Company's expedition played at hide-and-seek with each other for some time, but never met. The German adventurer planted the flag of his country along the river, and after numerous fights with the Masai and other natives, he succeeded in reaching Uganda, where Mtesa's weak son Mwanga reigned. There, Catholic and Protestant missionaries had been struggling for ascendency; the Mohammedan party was strong, and many of the chiefs and people adhered to their old heathenism. Mwanga was nominally an adherent of the Roman Catholic faith, though in reality he only cared for the party most likely to keep him in power. The Catholics, more zealous, and perhaps more energetic, than the Protestants, had gained many followers and much influence in the country, and would naturally be inclined to favour a German as opposed to an English ascendency. Dr. Peters at least, when he arrived in Uganda in the early part of 1890, found no difficulty in securing a friendly reception from Mwanga;[1] he succeeded in inducing the King to make such admissions and concessions as might without difficulty have been construed into a treaty of protection. It may therefore be imagined that his chagrin was

[1] Owing to the representations made by the French Government when the Emin relief expedition was organised, setting out the danger that might befall their mission if Stanley sought to enter Uganda, it being stated that his expedition might be viewed as a punitive one to avenge the murder of Bishop Hannington, Mr. Jackson's expedition when it started from the coast was specially instructed *not* to enter Uganda, and only did so on the invitation of the King and the missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, to help them to stem the Mohammedan party.

great when, in the summer of 1890, having sailed from Uganda to the south shore of the Lake, he encountered Emin Pasha, and found not only that the Pasha was "relieved," but that the British and German Governments had come to an understanding as to their respective spheres in East Africa, which rendered all his efforts to extend German influence of no avail.

Anglo-German agreement of 1890.

By the famous Anglo-German agreement of July 1890, Germany retired completely from the north of the line extending from the Umba to the east shore of the Lake, leaving Witu and all the coast north to the river Jub (over which she had declared a protectorate) to the operations of the British Company. The line of delimitation was then carried across Victoria Nyanza, and from its west shore to the boundary of the Congo Free State, deflecting southward so as to include Mount Mfumbiro; the precise position of which remains doubtful. The sphere of Great Britain was recognised in this agreement as extending along the Jub River and far away to the sources of the western tributaries of the Nile. The precise delimitation on this side will be referred to when we come to speak of the sphere of Italy. Meantime it may here be stated that this Anglo-German agreement recognised the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba as under British protection, such protection being accepted by the Sultan. These islands were outside of the Company's concession and charter, which virtually included a large section of Victoria Nyanza, the whole of Uganda and Unyoro, and part of Karagwe, Lake Albert and part of Albert

Edward, and the countries on their shores, as well as the Egyptian Equatorial Province, and part of Darfur and Kordofan. Of course this enormous sphere must be regarded as to some extent a fancy one. It includes a considerable section of the old Egyptian Sudan; and although that has been abandoned by Egypt, the Khedive might be inclined to put in a claim if the British East Africa Company succeeded in effectively occupying it and restoring its commercial and industrial prosperity. At the same time, it should never be lost sight of that, according to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Berlin Act, if there is no effective occupation there can be no claim to possession.

Emin Pasha.

Mr. Stanley left England, as has been said, in order to carry relief to Emin Pasha at Wadelai, in the beginning of 1887. It is beyond the purpose of this work to deal with Mr. Stanley's expedition. So far as the partition of Africa is concerned, he may be said to have to some extent shown the way to the officials of the Congo Free State, who, since Mr. Stanley's march through the forest of the Aruwimi, have pushed their operations considerably to the north-eastward, to within hail of the upper Nile. Mr. Stanley, as is known, succeeded in bringing to the East Coast Emin Pasha and a contingent of his people. Others of his followers remained on Lake Albert. Emin himself entered the German service, but his erratic conduct proved more of an embarrassment than a help. He endeavoured in 1891-92 to reach his old province, but failed. On Mr. Stanley's route from Lake Albert to the East Coast he made

treaties with the chiefs to the west of the Victoria Nyanza, through whose territories he passed, and these treaties he made over to the British Company. Mr. Stanley, it is well known, made several others to Emin, one being to settle him and his followers in the British sphere on the north-west of Victoria Nyanza. But when Emin got into the hands of the Germans, he became completely their man, for the time at least.

The Company's stations.

Shortly after Dr. Peters left Uganda it was entered on behalf of the Company by two of its officials, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Gedge. These very efficient pioneers had made their way from Mombasa north-west by Machako's, through the Masai country and northwards by the magnificent extinct volcano, Mount Elgon, and entered Uganda through Usogo. With most of the chiefs on their route they had little difficulty in coming to terms, and inducing them to accept the Company's flag. Their reports were of great service in showing the advantages and the difficulties of the country through which they passed. They confirmed the statements of previous explorers that, while there were great stretches along the magnificent plateau country of Lykipia and in Usogo suitable for industrial development and for the settlement of Indian and Persian colonists, the region nearer the coast suffered greatly from want of water. Much of the country was well adapted for cattle and agriculture: some of the natural products might be turned to account, and of course a certain amount of ivory was obtainable. Stations were established at intervals, partly as trading centres and partly as stages for the caravans which

were to be sent for traffic and exploration into the interior.

Communications.

The great problem forced upon the Company was that of communications. It was evident that so long as the only means of transport was the African native, commerce could not advance beyond the lowest stage. Camels, donkeys, and mules were experimented with, but all of them demand practicable roads and an adequate supply of water and food. Still mules and donkeys were employed to a considerable extent, though road-making proceeded somewhat slowly. But everything seemed to point to the desirability of constructing a light railway from the coast to the Lake, a distance of some 500 miles. For more than half-way the ground was so level as to render the construction extremely easy. Beyond that, however, was the enormous Mau escarpment, making a descent and corresponding ascent of some 3000 or 4000 feet, which, however, is reported to present no difficulty to the engineer. As a matter of fact, though the first mention of the Company in the official correspondence between England and Germany was in connection with a railway, the Company declared its resources unequal to more than a few miles of tramway beyond Mombasa. The Act of the Brussels Congress of 1891 afforded the Company a lever wherewith to move the Government in the matter. That Act imposed upon the Governments which signed it the obligation of taking effective means, among other things, of suppressing slave-raiding and slave-export. With respect to British East Africa, it was represented that the most effective means was the construction of

A railway.

a railway from the coast to the Lake, thus rendering human carriage unprofitable and unnecessary. The result was that Lord Salisbury's Government made a grant of £20,000 in 1891 for a railway survey, the Company to pay any expenses incurred in excess of that sum. This grant, it was understood, was only preliminary to a still larger vote for the construction of the railway itself. Under an experienced Indian engineer officer, Captain Macdonald, the survey expedition did excellent work. It traced a practicable route at moderate cost as far as the Lake, and added greatly to our knowledge of the country in its vicinity.

It was understood that the grant for the survey was to be followed by a grant for the railway. As might have been expected, the construction of a railway at Imperial expense was strongly objected to in several quarters, on the ground mainly that it was the Company's business, and entirely for its benefit. But political events at home led, as will be seen, to a certain change of policy in East Africa. But let us return to Uganda.

**British occupation of Uganda.**

When Messrs. Jackson and Gedge entered the country they found it in a state bordering on anarchy under the weak and cruel Mwanga. Catholics, Protestants, and Mohammedans were plotting and counter-plotting; Mwanga was found to be almost entirely in the power of the "French party," as the Catholic missionaries called themselves. Eventually Mr. Jackson returned to the coast in 1890 with envoys from the chiefs of Uganda and Usogo, who came to see for themselves whether the English were supreme at

the coast. Meantime Mr. Gedge was reduced to despair by the conduct of Mwanga and his party; he retired to the south shore of the Lake and counselled the abandonment of Uganda at least for a time. But the strong man whom the situation required was already on his way to deal with Mwanga. Captain F. D. Lugard, who had previously shown his capacity for dealing with refractory Arabs and native chiefs in Nyassaland, had entered the service of the Company early in 1890. He had shown his capacity for organisation, and his high quality as a pioneer explorer, in the expedition which he conducted from Mombasa to Machako's shortly after his arrival in East Africa. He was, with the small force at his command, ordered to proceed to Uganda. Soldiers, porters, and camp-followers, all told, Captain Lugard had only 300 men at his command. With these he made forced marches from Kikuyu, and before the end of December 1890 he entered Mengo, the capital of Uganda, much to the surprise of Mwanga and all his chiefs. Within a few days after his arrival, with Cromwellian decision and determination he induced Mwanga to sign a treaty acknowledging the supremacy of the Company, but only for two years. Mwanga declared that if a greater white man than Captain Lugard arrived, he should transfer his allegiance; evidently his mind had been unsettled by Dr. Peters. Captain Lugard and his two or three white companions had a trying part to play. They established their camp in a commanding position, and proceeded quietly and unostentatiously to fortify it; they had the advantage

Captain Lugard.

Treaty with King of Uganda.

of a Maxim gun. They lived at first in constant apprehension of attack; but in time Mwanga was forced to admit that the British officer was his best friend. Captain Lugard gave it to be clearly understood that he would favour neither one party nor the other, but that he would maintain the authority of the British Company against all parties. His perfect fairness was in time recognised; and the results of his measures to abolish anarchy and establish trade and peace were so evident that Catholics and Protestants were compelled to admit it. This state of feeling was no doubt in part induced by the fact that the Mohammedans were hovering on the outskirts of the country, ready to rush in and take advantage of the dissensions among the Christians.

Lugard extends British occupation westwards.

By the spring of 1891 the English position was so strong that Captain Lugard felt at liberty to leave Uganda in charge of one of his subordinate officers, and undertake a pioneer journey to the westward. But the position of the Mohammedans on the outskirts of the country was so menacing that he felt it desirable first of all to deal with them. He did not consider it advisable to take any direct part in the conflict himself, but under his guidance both Christian parties united, and their forces were so well organised that the Mohammedans were completely routed. This naturally greatly increased Captain Lugard's influence, and he was able without returning to Mengo to set out on an expedition to the west shores of the Victoria Nyanza and westward to Lake Albert Edward and Mount Ruwenzori. Captain Lugard had no difficulty anywhere in winning

the confidence of the chiefs and natives, and in inducing them to accept the authority of the Company. He was able to form a comparatively high opinion of the country and of its suitability for industrial development under a stable administration. At Lake Albert Edward Captain Lugard discovered some valuable salt mines, and erected a fort to guard them. On the slopes of Mount Ruwenzori he built another fort, and proceeded northward to Lake Albert. Here at Kavalli's he found Selim Bey and some thousands of Emin Pasha's followers who had been left behind by Mr. Stanley when the latter proceeded to the coast with Emin. These people were evidently living in comfort and peace. Captain Lugard had little difficulty in inducing Emin's old followers to go with him; and many of them took service in Uganda under the Company. He succeeded in defeating the notorious Kaba Rega, King of Unyoro, and erected a number of forts to secure the footing he had gained in this interesting region. Lugard found that Emin, accompanied by Dr. Stuhhmann, had preceded him at Ruwenzori and on Lake Albert; but the Pasha could not induce his former followers to throw in their lot with him and the Germans. When in the end of 1891 Captain Lugard returned to Uganda, he had firmly laid the foundation of British supremacy in all the region between Lake Victoria on the one side and Lakes Albert and Albert Edward on the other. He had rid the region from the cruelty and oppression of Kaba Rega's domination, and established confidence among the natives, and loyalty to the name of England. Nothing was wanted but that the garrisons in the forts

should be strengthened, and Captain Lugard's policy continued, in order to render this region a centre of civilisation for all Central Africa.

When Captain Lugard returned to Uganda he found the condition of things not so favourable as when he had left. There had been incessant intrigues on the part of the Catholic or French party; the Protestants had not been so discreet as they might have been; while the weak and inconstant Mwanga had been induced to try to free himself from his allegiance to the Company. A trifling incident in the Bazaar shortly after Captain Lugard's return to Uganda seems to have led to what was virtually an attack of the Catholic upon the Protestant party. Captain Lugard felt bound in the interests of the Company and of England to espouse the cause of the latter. Many reports reached England in the early half of 1892 as to the "cruelties" exercised by Captain Lugard and his party against the Catholics; but an examination of all the facts proved that he acted with perfect justice and impartiality, his sole aim being to maintain the supremacy of the Company as representing Great Britain. King Mwanga and many of the more prominent Catholics fled; others were succoured by Captain Lugard himself. Before Lugard returned to England in the autumn of 1892, he had once more restored peace; the Catholics were settled in Buddu, on the north-west of Lake Victoria, the Protestants in Uganda, and the Mohammedans in a province of their own. King Mwanga was restored, and under Captain Williams, Lugard's colleague, all promised well.

**Trouble in Uganda.**

The Company decide to abandon Uganda.

Meanwhile the directors of the Company in England had become somewhat appalled at the vast responsibility thus forced upon them. Their comparatively insignificant capital of half a million could not maintain the administration of some million of square miles; and in the absence of powers to raise taxes they did not consider themselves justified in spending the money of the shareholders on enterprises so far distant from their base of operations. In 1891 the Company gave it to be understood that it would be compelled to withdraw from Uganda. At this the missionary public took alarm, and subscribed a very considerable sum of money to enable the Company to maintain Captain Lugard at his post for a time. But the Company only undertook to hold on there till the end of 1892. When the news of the revolution in Uganda reached England there was an outcry against the Company for threatening to abandon the country under such conditions, leaving the Protestants at the mercy of the Catholics. Moreover, it was said it was in the hope that the Company would remain in Uganda and extend its operations that Lord Salisbury had induced the House of Commons to incur the expense of a survey for a railway. With this, however, the Company maintained that it had nothing to do; the railway was the affair of the Government, whose duty it was to construct it, in order, by so doing, to carry out the obligations undertaken by Great Britain as a signatory of the Act of the Brussels Conference. As a matter of fact the Company by this time (summer of 1892) had spent all but £200,000 of its capital. It

became evident that with this not much could be done to meet the expenses which would be absolutely necessary to continue the occupation of Uganda and maintain the position secured by Captain Lugard to the westward. Besides, the Company was primarily a trading company. The power to raise taxes, though promised by the Imperial Government, was still withheld; and although the revenue from customs was steadily increasing, it did not amount to much. The crisis in the Company's affairs, and in the occupation of the immense sphere allotted to England by the Anglo-German and Anglo-Italian agreements, was reached in the summer of 1892, when Lord Salisbury's Government was succeeded by that of Mr. Gladstone, with Lord Rosebery as Foreign Minister, under whose cognisance would come the affairs of a sphere which as yet only formed the raw materials for colonies. It was felt that under Lord Rosebery Imperial interests would not suffer. The affairs of British East Africa demanded the prompt attention of the new Government. A Cabinet Council was held in the end of September, and on the 30th a letter from the Foreign Office was sent to the Company accepting "the principle of evacuation," but offering assistance to the Company to prolong the occupation to the end of March 1893.

Action of the Government.

The attempt to make the abandonment of Uganda a party question failed; for it was seen that "abandonment" of all that had been gained in East Africa, and not temporary retirement, was what certain extreme partisans had in view. There were so many and varied interests at stake that public opinion ranged itself

very emphatically against abandonment. Captain Lugard, who returned to England at the critical moment, addressed crowded audiences all over the country, and so intensified public opinion on behalf of retention, that the Government became convinced that even temporary evacuation would not be tolerated. Happily their communication to the Company was so ingeniously worded that it afforded them a loophole for escape; "abandonment," we are assured, was never in their thoughts. The simple and obvious course would have been to send Captain Lugard back as soon as possible to continue his beneficent work either directly under the Imperial Government or through the agency of the Company. This, however, it was felt, would be too sudden a *volte-face* for certain influential members of the Cabinet; so that, in deference to them, a middle course was adopted. It was resolved to send a commission to Uganda to inquire into the position and to furnish information to the Government to enable them to decide as to the course to be ultimately adopted. The most reasonable section of the Cabinet wanted to act through the Company who had all its machinery on the spot; but the ruling spirit in the Cabinet would not even listen to such a proposal. Sir Gerald Portal, Her Majesty's representative at Zanzibar, was appointed as Commissioner. With him were associated about half a dozen British officers and other Englishmen experienced in East African affairs. The expedition, accompanied by 200 of the Sultan of Zanzibar's soldiers and an army of putees, left the coast early in January 1893. The few Englishmen in Uganda who

are holding the position on behalf of the Company and of their country have been notified by the speediest possible means of what has taken place, so that it is hoped that when Sir Gerald Portal and his expedition arrive all will be undisturbed. It is felt that one result, at least, of Sir Gerald's report will be, that Captain Lugard will be sent back as Imperial Commissioner to strengthen the position he has gained and to extend more or less effective occupation to the limits of the British sphere. There is probably foundation for the common belief that the triumph of Imperialism in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet has been mainly due to the firm position taken by Lord Rosebery, who, it was felt, could not consistently with his past career submit to any threatened "dismemberment of the Empire."

Notwithstanding its troubles in connection with Uganda, the Company was not idle elsewhere. Mr. Ernest Berkeley, who had had considerable experience in the East African Consular service, assumed the office of administrator in 1891, and under him the enterprises of the Company were conducted energetically and economically. The Tana was carefully explored, and found to be an uncertain waterway; the troublesome Sultan of Witu was induced to settle down quietly; friendly relations were entered into with the chiefs and tribes along the coast as far as the river Jub, the boundary between the British and Italian spheres, and the capabilities of the river as a trade-route were investigated, with the result that it was found to be navigable for 400 miles of its course. Specialists were employed to examine and report

**Work accomplished by the Company.**

upon the planting and agricultural capacities of the coast regions, with results very favourable to the prosecution of industrial enterprise. By an agreement with the Sultan in 1891 the lease of fifty years of the strip of coast claimed by him was converted into a grant in perpetuity in consideration of an annual payment of 80,000 dollars. The whole length of the coast-line thus acquired measured 400 miles. The customs dues rose steadily from 36,000 dollars in 1889 to 80,000 dollars in 1891. Under Dr. Stewart of Lovedale an industrial institution for training natives was established near Machako's. A greater sense of security began to prevail in the interior, several of the most troublesome tribes, including the Masai, sending large numbers of the people down to the coast to make friends with the Company. Small experiments had been made with Indian immigrants; these were successful, but there were difficulties in the way of obtaining such immigrants in numbers sufficient to colonise the Sabaki, the Tana, and the Jub rivers on a large scale. Notwithstanding mistakes and misfortunes, the Company during the four years of its existence must be admitted to have done much for the effective occupation and development of the regions between the Victoria Nyanza and the coast.

**British protectorate in Zanzibar and Pemba.**

Although it did not directly affect the operation of the Company, the declaration in the summer of 1890 of a British protectorate over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba tended to give it a greater feeling of security and permanence. A regular administration under British auspices was formed (by agreement, October 1891) in the Sultan's restricted dominions, which

must, therefore, be regarded as distinctly within the British sphere. It is deserving of note that Sir Gerald Portal (who succeeded Sir Euan Smith as British representative at Zanzibar) was by an order in council appointed Her Majesty's Commissioner, authorised to exercise a general supervision over the territories immediately under the Company and the whole of the territories beyond. This was in reality an acknowledgment of Imperial responsibility for the administration of the entire British sphere in East Africa.

# CHAPTER XIX

## THE ITALIAN SPHERE AND THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

Italy occupies Assab Bay—Massowa—Hostilities with Abyssinia—Treaty with Abyssinia—Colony of Eritrea—Annexations on the Somali coast—Italian relations with the British East African Company—Italy's position in Africa—The Egyptian Sudan.

Italy occupies Assab Bay.

IT will only be necessary to deal briefly with the advance of Italy in Africa since the Berlin Congress, while the position in the abandoned Egyptian Sudan has remained practically unchanged so far as European influences are concerned. As was the case with Germany, Italy, very soon after it became a united kingdom, sought to obtain possessions abroad. So long ago as 1875 Italian vessels were hovering around Socotra, and compelled England to step in and place her Imperial stamp upon the island. Tripoli was for a time a sore temptation also to the young kingdom on the other side of the Mediterranean, but fear of complications with France and Turkey induced her to keep her hands off. We have seen that, although in 1870 a spot in Assab Bay, just inside the Red Sea, was purchased as a coaling station, it was not till 1880 that the Italian Government even nominally took it over. From this as a starting-point the Italian possessions in the Red Sea spread northwards. Southwards they could go no farther than Raheita, as the French

station of Obock barred the way. It was not until July 1882 that the Italian Government took active possession of the territory and bay of Assab. Italian explorers and Italian missionaries had been active in this part of Africa for years. Until 1885 Italy's footing in the Red Sea hardly extended beyond Assab; but in that year, taking advantage of Egypt's difficulties with the Mahdiists, she took possession of Beilul and of the important port of Massowa, the Egyptian garrison of the latter being compelled to quit. These steps were taken with the connivance if not the approval of England. Had Italy not taken and held Massowa, it might have fallen into the hands of the Mahdiists. Italian domination rapidly extended all along the coast, so that by 1888 it reached from Cape Kasar, south of Suakim, on the north, to the French colony of Obock in the south, some 650 miles.

Massowa.

These advances on the part of Italy were not regarded, as may be believed, with anything like complacency by King John of Abyssinia. The hostile action of the latter led to what was really a war between the Italian garrison and the Abyssinian army; at Dogali, in January 1887, an Italian force was almost annihilated. But this did not prevent Italy from adhering to what she had gained, and attempting to push her influence into the interior. After the death of King John, the interior posts of Keren and Asmara were occupied, as well as other places not far from the coast, but giving command of the routes to the lofty tableland of the interior. King John was succeeded by Menelek, King of Shoa, who showed some inclination to establish friendly relations with the Italians. By an

Hostilities with Abyssinia.

agreement of May 1889, confirmed and renewed in October of the same year, a treaty of "mutual protection" was entered into between Menelek and Umberto I., King of Italy. This was naturally regarded as in effect placing Abyssinia under the protection of Italy, though on more than one occasion since, Menelek has repudiated any such interpretation, the protection he maintains being as much on his side as on that of Italy. As a matter of fact the Italian protectorate of Abyssinia is of the most nominal and shadowy character, and may possibly vanish even in name if the French influence continues to extend from the south as it has been recently doing. It is only at a few points on the coast, and those referred to in the near interior, that the influence of Italy is actually felt. By various decrees in 1890 and 1891 the Italian possessions on the Red Sea have been constituted into the colony of Eritrea, with an autonomous administration and the management of its own finances. The area of the territory strictly included in Eritrea is probably not more than 52,000 square miles, while that of the so-called protectorate of Abyssinia is about 195,000 square miles, including Shoa, Kaffa, Harrar, and other places claimed by King Menelek.

Treaty with Abyssinia.

Colony of Eritrea.

But Italy was not content with securing a position on the Red Sea. Since she could not obtain Socotra, she turned her attention to the barren coast opposite on the African mainland, inhabited by the fiercely independent nomads, the Somalis and Gallas. In February 1889 the Sultan of Obbia or Oppia, on the Somali coast, between 5° 33′ north latitude and 2° 30′ north latitude, placed his Sultanate under the protection of Italy. In

Annexation on the Somali Coast

April of the same year the Italian sphere was extended to the country between 5° 33′ north latitude and 8° 3′ north latitude by treaty with the Sultan of the Mijertine Somalis, who at the same time bound himself to make no treaty with any other Power regarding the rest of his territory. On the other side, in November 1889, the Somali coast from the Sultanate of Obbia to the mouth of the Jub River (0° 15′ S. lat.) was declared to be within the sphere of Italy.

Italian relations with the British East African Company.

Here was a stretch of some 800 miles of coast, with vague extension inwards, added with wonderful rapidity to Italy's "foreign possessions." It apparently did not concern her that the coast was little better than a sandy waste; she had a vague idea that somehow it might be a convenient back door to Abyssinia and Shoa, all the more if the Jub River were found to be a practicable waterway. At the mouth of the river the Italian sphere and the British sphere overlapped. As the Sultan of Zanzibar had ceded to the British Company his territory as far north as Warsheikh, beyond the mouth of the Jub, Italy obviously claimed what already belonged to another Power. However, the two Powers found no difficulty in coming to an understanding. The British Company very readily conceded all its claims on the coast to the north of the Jub, on the understanding that Italy would not be too exacting as to the delimitation between the spheres of the two Powers in the interior. When however, it came to actual negotiations, Italy showed but little disposition to minimise her claims. The boundary between the spheres of the two Powers was settled by agreement (March 1891). The line

ascends the channel of the Jub River from its mouth to 6° north latitude, instead of to 8° as was understood would be the case in the preliminary negotiations with the Company. It then follows the 6th parallel as far as 35° east longitude, that meridian forming the boundary between the British and Italian spheres up to the Blue Nile. In Somaliland and Gallaland this gives to Italy an area of 355,000 square miles, on which it is estimated there is a scanty population of one and a half million. The whole area claimed by Italy in Africa is over 600,000 square miles. To the west her Abyssinian protectorate is bounded by the former Egyptian Sudan, the limits here being somewhat indefinite. Just beyond the northern frontier is Kassala, which, as a bulwark against the Mahdiists, Italy proposed in 1890 to occupy; but although at first inclined to assent, in the end England, as representing the Egyptian Government, placed her veto on the project.

**Italy's position in Africa.**

Italy then, like other great powers of Europe, has acquired a fair slice of the continent in the scramble for Africa. A small and prudent minority in the Italian Parliament attempted in vain to oppose the craving for an "African Empire" which had seized regenerated Italy. After the disaster at Dogali a motion for the evacuation of Massowa was lost by 302 votes to 40 (May 1888). The Prime Minister, Signor Crispi, told the House that "Colonial extension is for modern nations a vital question. The advantages which it brings cannot be translated into figures." So far as Italy is concerned, it is difficult to see what advantage of any kind the claim to suzerainty over the desert region of Somaliland and Gallaland can bring, and

over the long stretch of Red Sea coast, backed by a more or less sandy strip separating the coast from the Abyssinian highlands. The territory, with its numerous officials and its African corps of over 6000 officers and men, is a drain on the resources of a country whose financial difficulties are increasing every year. Massowa is no doubt an important port, and its trade, as the leading gate from the sea to Abyssinia, is capable of considerable development. The monopoly of the trade of Massowa may be worth having. But most of the other territory claimed by Italy is little better than an unnecessary and expensive appendage. Italy, unless her resources and her power increase immensely, can never expect to have any real hold over the most inaccessible and most mountainous country of Africa, with a population fiercely independent. Certainly, with its great variety of climate and its industrial capabilities, Abyssinia might form a very suitable field for colonisation by Southern Europeans. But it is doubtful if there is room in the country for both Italians and Abyssinians. The ultimate fate of Abyssinia, so different in many respects from any other native state in Africa, is one of the problems of the continent. So far as can be judged at present, the wisest course for Italy to pursue is to cherish friendly relations with king and people, and so secure an increased share in the commerce of the country. As for the country in the Somali interior, its commercial value can never be great. Both north and south, Italy has England to compete with. The hold of the British East Africa Company on the Jub River is strong, and its resources are much greater than

any Italian company is likely to command. On the northern coast of Somaliland England is supreme from Tajura Bay to near Cape Guardafui. Her influence extends over some 50,000 square miles, while her port at Berbera draws to it most of the commerce of the interior. However, Italy's sphere is allotted to her; and if she only acts on her own maxim—"He who goes gently goes safely, and he who goes safely goes far"—and is not inveigled into any expensive military operations, she may in time reap some advantage from her 600,000 square miles of Africa. Meantime it is to her credit that Italian explorers are doing much for a knowledge of her sphere, especially in the Somaliland interior, which they assure us is better pastured and better watered than has been generally believed in the past.

**The Egyptian Sudan.**

The position of the former Egyptian Sudan, so far as outside influences are concerned, is not essentially different from what it was when abandoned on the death of Gordon in January 1885. From Fashoda to near Wady Halfa, and from Darfur to almost within hail of the Red Sea, it is still in the hands of the successors of the Mahdi. The old Mahdi is dead, but another reigns in his stead; though the magic of the name has departed. From the news which at various times has come out from Khartum it is evident that the Khalifa, or so-called Mahdi, rules more by terror than by any other means. In several places on the Upper Nile the native tribes—the Shilluks, Dinkas, and others—have risen against the Mahdi's followers and expelled them. A detachment of Mahdiists seems to be stationed at Regaf, cut off from the main body

in the north; and a section of Emin's followers hold Wadelai, but have no connection with the Mahdiists. The real rulers of the Egyptian Sudan are the so-called Arabs known as Baggaras, notorious slave-raiders, who hardly make any pretence of being guided by the religious fanaticism of the Mahdiists. They hold Khartum and have stations all over the Sudan, from which they terrorise the few natives that remain, whose tribal systems are almost entirely broken up, and who would welcome the intervention of any Power that would free them from their oppressors. Wadai and Bornu, with their dependencies, are still outside any European sphere; they are the most fanatical Moslem states in Africa. A large contingent of Zebehr Pasha's old forces, after the defeat of Suleiman by Gessi Pasha, wandered westwards and conquered for themselves a considerable portion of Bagirmi, where they are settled, and may cause trouble to any European Power advancing from the west. A large portion of Darfur and of the Equatorial provinces is nominally within the British sphere; but, actually, the whole region is at present unappropriated. It cannot remain long thus. It is generally admitted that a determined attack from the east, or the north, or the south, by a properly organised force, would annihilate the so-called Mahdiist power; but the time has not yet arrived for such a demonstration. With the keen competition which exists between England, Germany, and France for suzerainty over the country to the south and east of Lake Chad, this highly valuable region of Central Africa, from a commercial standpoint, cannot remain long unattached.

# CHAPTER XX

## ZAMBESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

British advance in South Africa—The Transvaal and Bechuanaland—Various annexations—Mashonaland and Matabeleland—The Boers and Mashonaland—Portugal and Matabeleland—British supremacy secured—Lobengula and his warriors—Claims of Portugal—The rival companies—Cecil Rhodes: his Company—A charter obtained—The various companies—Portuguese companies—The Government and the Chartered Company—Value of Matabeleland—The Company takes possession—Progress made—Collision with the Portuguese—Anglo-Portuguese arrangement—British enterprise in the Lake Nyassa region—Claims of Portugal—A trans-African Empire—Troubles with the Arabs—Portuguese attempts to take possession—H. H. Johnston frustrates them—Extended British enterprise—A British Commissioner appointed to Northern Zambesia—Progress in Northern Zambesia.

**British advance in South Africa.**

THE extension of the British sphere in South Africa and in the region watered by the Zambesi and its affluents has, since 1885, been rapid and immense. Up to 1884, British South Africa, with the exception of the colony of Griqualand West, did not extend beyond the Orange River. The impulse given to further extension has been seen in connection with German annexations in South-west Africa. But the attention both of the Imperial Government and of the Cape Government was directed to the region vaguely known as Bechuanaland even before this period. During the four years of British occupation of the Transvaal (1877-

**The Transvaal and Bechuanaland.**

1881) comparative peace was maintained on its borders. But no sooner had the Transvaal reassumed its independence than the Republic promoted disputes among the tribes on its western borders. The result was intertribal wars and a struggle for supremacy among the rival chiefs. This afforded an opportunity for Boer intervention, with the result that enormous areas of the neighbouring Bechuanaland were acquired, and two Boer States founded, Stellaland and Goshenland. This condition of things compelled the British Government to consider what steps should be taken to protect the interests of the Empire and of Cape Colony in this part of South Africa. The Convention of February 1884 fixed the western limits of the Transvaal, and as a consequence it was decided to proclaim a British protectorate in Bechuanaland. Mr. John Mackenzie, who had worked as a missionary for many years in this part of Africa, was in 1884 appointed Deputy-Commissioner to Bechuanaland, and in this capacity concluded treaties with several of the chiefs. But this did not prevent the Transvaal Boers from intervening and endeavouring to secure a large slice of the Bechuanaland territory. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who had succeeded Mr. Mackenzie as Deputy-Commissioner, refused to recognise the claims set up by the Boers; and in order to put an end to all disputes and to secure the whole territory for Great Britain, Sir Charles Warren was commissioned, at the end of 1884, to proceed to Bechuanaland with a strong force. Sir Charles Warren accomplished his mission with complete success. The boundaries of the Transvaal were restricted to those

laid down in the Convention of February 1884; and the British sphere was extended northwards to 22° south latitude. All this was accomplished by August 1885, and in the following month the southern portion of the territory (south of the Molopo River) was erected into a Crown Colony under the name of British Bechuanaland. The Colony, including later extensions, covers 70,000 square miles, the region to the north as far as 22° S., covering 100,000 square miles, being constituted the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, with British residents and a strong police force to patrol the country. In the northern part of this area the remarkable chief Khama is supreme, and it was only after long conferences with Sir Charles Warren that this chief at last agreed to accept Her Majesty's protection. We may complete the tale of annexation in this quarter by stating that by an Order in Council of 4th July 1890, the whole of the territory north of British Bechuanaland, west of the Transvaal and of Matabeleland, east of the German Protectorate of South-west Africa, and south of the Zambesi, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor of British Bechuanaland; though the British South Africa Company claim the section north of the Crown Colony, by reason of its being included within the sphere defined by their Charter, and efforts have been recently made on behalf of the Company to hand it over to their administration. The total area thus embraced probably covers about 350,000 square miles. The precise western boundaries of this extensive region were fixed, as has been seen in a previous chapter, by the Anglo-German agreement of September 1890.

Here the only rights to be considered were those of the natives; there was little difficulty in coming to an understanding as to the claims of Germany. It was a question of annexation either by Great Britain or by the Transvaal, and in this case the stronger Power could have no scruples in using its strength, the result being not only advantageous to itself, but at the same time of advantage to the natives, who would, it can hardly be doubted, receive better treatment at the hands of the British than at the hands of the Boers.

Various annexations.

The wide region between the Orange River and the Zambesi is one in which English missionary effort (we need only mention the names of Moffat and Livingstone) had been long active and fairly successful, and with which English traders had had dealings for many years. Whatever views may be held as to mission work in the abstract, there can be no doubt of the practical benefits secured by the conversion of such chiefs as Sechele and Khama from the ways of their forefathers, and, in the case of Khama at least, the change has been a vast improvement. At present, however, we are only concerned to show that British influence was already paramount here, and that it was therefore natural for the British Government to step in and prevent a Boer annexation. But the truth is, as will have been seen from previous chapters, that by 1885, all considerations for what are called "native rights" had disappeared before the blind scramble. It was in the nature of things that Great Britain should try to make up for the loss of Damaraland by grasping all that she could lay hands upon to the north of Cape Colony,

Even before 1890 she had distinctly given it to be understood, as will be seen, that she regarded the Zambesi as the natural northern boundary of her South African possessions. Unfortunately this principle was adopted much too late to be of avail in securing a perfectly united British South Africa. It was only in 1868 that the conception seems to have taken shape; and by that time two independent Boer republics had been established, and the idea was so slow in taking root, that so late as 1884 Germany was allowed to step in and cut off from the possibility of annexation an enormous block on the west. Basutoland, it is true, was annexed in 1868 and Griqualand West in 1871; but from that time till 1885, with the exception of the fruitless attempt to annex the Transvaal, little advance was made. We have seen the important step taken in 1884 and 1885 on the west of the Transvaal. On the east of that republic the Boers were as eager to make annexations as they were in the west. It was natural that the Transvaal should endeavour to obtain an independent outlet to the sea, from which she was barred by Swaziland, Tongaland, and Zululand,—on all of which countries she has had her eye for years. In 1884 a party of Boers took possession of the western part of Zululand, and established an independent state, the New Republic; and when Zululand was in 1887 declared British territory, this section was handed over to the Transvaal. Swaziland also, which forms an indentation on the east of the Transvaal, had long been coveted by the Boers; in the meantime, by the Convention of 1890, it is in a transition state, and seems

likely in the end to go the way of the New Republic. The Tongaland strip between Swaziland and the sea is virtually British, though there seems to have been an understanding that the Transvaal would be accorded a small section of Swaziland and Tongaland, including a ten-mile radius around Kosi Bay.

Mashonaland and Matabeleland.

But these were comparatively small matters, though all tending to complete the partition of the continent and affect more or less favourably the development of British enterprise. Though Germany had given the British Government a general assurance that she would not seek any further annexations south of Delagoa Bay, it was none the less difficult for enterprising Germans in search of fresh fields to resist temptation so long as any portion of the great area south of the Zambesi was unannexed. Reference was made in a previous chapter to the glowing account of a German trader of the region now generally known as Zambesia, extending from the Transvaal to the Central African Lakes; Sir Bartle Frere regarded Herr Weber's communication as so important that he sent home a translation to the Foreign Office. Moreover, the Boers, ever on the look-out for new lands into which to *trek*, had long ago fixed their eyes on the country north of the Limpopo, known generally as Matabeleland, ruled over by Lobengula, the son of the chief of the Matabeles, with whom, when they were in their old home, the British Government made a treaty of friendship in 1836. The reports of Mauch, Baines, and others, of the rich gold mines contained in this territory, were well known, and, as has already been seen, in 1870 Sir John Swinburne formed

a company for working the Tati region in the south-west of Matabeleland. Other travellers and sportsmen, Mohr, Oates, Selous, gave the most favourable accounts not only of the gold of the country, but of the suitability of a large portion of the high plateau known as Mashonaland for European settlement and agricultural operations. When Sir Charles Warren was in Bechuanaland in 1885, several of his officers made journeys to Matabeleland, and their reports all tended to show the desirability of taking possession of that country; indeed Sir Charles was assured that Lobengula would welcome a British alliance as a protection against the Boers, of whose designs he was afraid. At that very time an expedition was being planned in the Transvaal for the purpose of taking possession of Mashonaland. One correspondent, writing to Sir Charles Warren under date Shoshong, May 1885, described the situation as follows:—

**The Boers and Mashonaland.**

"The Boers are determined to get a footing in Mashonaland (their condition being so wretched, and Mashonaland being the finest agricultural land in South Africa), by thus taking the Matabele on the flank and gradually acquiring their territory by conquest, from thence overspreading all the independent tribes to the west and south of here. I also had good proof that the Germans and Portuguese are working quietly but slowly to acquire as much of these lands and the Transvaal under their protectorate as occasion will allow of; and believe that they as well as the Boers and other nations are only waiting to hear what action the British Government will take to settle on their own. The natives all showed the greatest desire to be under British protec-

tion, chiefs as well as their subjects; and their hatred and fear of the Boers." In 1882 an attempt was made on behalf of the Transvaal to make Lobengula sign a treaty, but the chief was too wily, although in 1888 President Krüger tried to make out that such a treaty had been concluded. But the old friendship with England was not forgotten, even after Lobengula succeeded his father in 1868. Still, as the most powerful chief north of the Limpopo, he was extremely jealous of interference, although he had recently suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Bechuanas.

Portugal and Matabeleland.

As a result of Sir Charles Warren's mission to Bechuanaland, and of the reports furnished by the agents he sent into Matabeleland, the attention of adventurers and prospectors was more and more drawn towards the latter country. The Portuguese, we have seen, had been electrified into activity by the events of the past two years. That the attention of the British Government was directed to Matabeleland even in 1887 is evident from a protest in August of that year, on the part of Lord Salisbury, against an official Portuguese map claiming a section of that country as within the Portuguese sphere. Lord Salisbury then clearly stated that no pretensions of Portugal to Matabeleland could be recognised, and that the Zambesi should be regarded as the natural northern limit of British South Africa. The British Prime Minister reminded the Portuguese Government that according to the Berlin Act no claim to territory in Central Africa could be recognised that was not supported by effective occupation. The Portuguese Government maintained (it must be ad-

mitted with justice) that this applied only to the coast, but Lord Salisbury stood firmly to his position. Portugal appealed to her past glory and her long historical connection with Central Africa. She sent hurried expeditions up the valleys of some of the southern tributaries of the Zambesi, and then adduced the ruins of old forts and the existence of orange trees as evidence of her former occupation of the country. But the fact remains that there did not then exist, and there was no evidence that there ever had existed, effective occupation of the country included in the domain of Lobengula, away from the banks of the Zambesi. Giving the fullest weight to all that the Portuguese themselves have been able to adduce in favour of their claims to a trans-African dominion and to the possession of Mashonaland, it is impossible to admit that their occupation had ever been effective away from their ports on the coast and one or two stations on the river. Their country, moreover, was on the verge of bankruptcy, and they had not the resources wherewith to develop the enormous area claimed by them. To have allowed Portugal to acquire what she claimed in Africa was to shut out the centre of the continent, including some of the most promising regions of Tropical Africa, from all civilised enterprise.

**British supremacy secured.**

Germans, Boers, Portuguese, were all ready to lay their hands on the country claimed by Lobengula. England stepped in and took it out of their hands; and at the worst she can only be accused of obeying the law of the universe, "Might is right." By the end of 1887 the attempts of the Transvaal Boers to obtain a hold

over Matabeleland had reached a crisis. It became evident that no time was to be lost if England was to secure the Zambesi as the northern limit of extension of her South African possessions. Lobengula himself was harassed and anxious as to the designs of the Boers on the one hand, and the doings of the Portuguese on the north of his territory on the other. In the Rev. J. Smith Moffat, Assistant Commissioner in Bechuanaland, England had a trusty agent who had formerly been a missionary for many years in Matabeleland, and had great influence with Lobengula. Under the circumstances, it does not seem to have been difficult for Mr. Moffat to persuade the King to put an end to his troubles by placing himself under the protection of Great Britain. On 21st March 1888, Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of Cape Colony, and Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa, was able to inform the Home Government that on the previous 11th February Lobengula had appended his mark to a brief document which secured to England supremacy in Matabeleland over all her rivals. This brief document may well be quoted here:

"The Chief Lobengula, ruler of the tribe known as the Amandebele, together with the Mashona and Makalaka, tributaries of the same, hereby agrees to the following articles and conditions:

"That peace and amity shall continue for ever between Her Britannic Majesty, her subjects, and the Amandebele people; and the contracting Chief Lobengula engages to use his utmost endeavours to prevent any rupture of the same, to cause the strict observance

of the treaty, and so to carry out the spirit of the treaty of friendship which was entered into between his late father, the Chief Umsiligazi, with the then Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in the year of our Lord 1836.

"It is hereby further agreed by Lobengula, Chief in and over the Amandebele country, with its dependencies aforesaid, on behalf of himself and people, that he will refrain from entering into any correspondence or treaty with any foreign State or Power, to sell, alienate, or cede, or permit or countenance any sale, alienation, or cession, of the whole or any part of the said Amandebele country under his chieftainship, or upon any other subject, without the previous knowledge and sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa.

"In faith of which, I, Lobengula, on my part, have herewith set my hand at Gubuluwayo, Amandebeleland, the 11th day of February, and of Her Majesty's reign the fifty-first."

To this important document was appended "Lo Bengula X His Mark," with the names of two witnesses, and the signature of Mr. J. S. Moffat, as Assistant Commissioner.

Many similar so-called "treaties" have been signed by African chiefs in favour of various Powers. It is doubtful whether, as a rule, these chiefs have any idea whatever of the significance of what they are doing. Lobengula, however, like Sechele and Khama in Bechuanaland, was, though a somewhat savage heathen, a man of shrewdness and intelligence, quite alive to his own interests. Still it is perhaps doubtful if he realised the full

purport of the treaty, the object of which was, of course, to sweep Matabeleland and its dependencies within the limits of the British Empire. However, for the moment, it relieved him from any apprehensions of interference from Boers or Portuguese, and secured to British South Africa uninterrupted access to the Central Zambesi, and the opportunity of developing by British enterprise a region reported to be rich in gold and in agricultural possibilities.

The publication of the treaty was, as might be expected, followed by reclamations both on the part of the Transvaal and of Portugal. Before the British hold was firmly established over the country attempts were made by large parties of Boers to trek into Matabeleland, not, it is to be feared, without the countenance of the Government of the Republic. Though these attempts caused anxiety at the time, fortunately they never resulted in action. Individual Boers as well, it must be said, as individual Englishmen at the kraal of Lobengula, attempted to poison the mind of the latter against the British. But the King remained throughout faithful to his engagements. Indeed, it was not Lobengula himself who gave any cause for anxiety during the initial stage of the English occupation. He is, no doubt, a powerful chief, but even he is obliged to defer to the wishes of his *indunas* and his army. His *impis*, or regiments, composed of thousands of young men, eager to wash their spears in blood, were difficult to restrain; they were hungering to "eat up" all the white men in the country. Had it not been for the greatest tact and forbearance on the part of the British

Lobengula and his warriors.

representatives who visited the country in the early days of the treaty, terrible disasters would have happened. Lobengula himself kept a firm hand over his warriors, but even he was at times apprehensive that they might burst beyond all control. Happily this trying initial period passed without disaster. As a matter of fact, the treaty was thoroughly discussed in presence of the three chief *indunas*, and was signed by Lobengula in their presence.

**Claims of Portugal.**

Portugal was not so easy to deal with as the South African Republic. Immediately on the publication of the treaty she advanced her old claims. Even Portugal, however, was not bold enough to advance any claim over the territory occupied by the Matabeles. Whatever claim she may have had to the country was completely annulled when Lobengula's father took possession of it by force of arms. But she maintained that Lobengula's claim to include the country on the east, occupied by the conquered Mashonas, Makalakas, and other tribes, was invalid; that these territories, as evidenced by ruins and orange trees, had of old been occupied by Portugal, and that in fact they were included in her province of Sofala. From the first, however, Lord Salisbury took up a firm position, and while admitting his readiness to adjust boundaries at a suitable time, maintained absolutely that Mashonaland was subject to Lobengula, and therefore within the British sphere of influence. It remained of course to be decided what territory could fairly be included within Mashonaland and the other districts claimed by Lobengula; but the vague claims put forward by the Portuguese could

only be met with a firm assertion of the rights acquired by Great Britain under the treaty with Lobengula. The important point was how far east did the boundary of the territory claimed by Lobengula extend, and how far west had effective occupation by Portugal been carried? What complicated the problem was ignorance of the geography of Eastern Mashonaland shown not only by Great Britain, but by Portugal, who, according to her own statements, had been in the occupation of the country for four centuries. Even the course of the river Sabi, which might play an important part in any delimitation, was quite unknown. Lobengula himself, inspired very possibly by the well-informed Englishmen who were flocking about his "Court," had no doubt as to the extent of his own possessions. In a letter from him, dated 24th November 1888, he claimed the whole country eastwards, to beyond the Sabi River, on the north to the south bank of the Zambesi from Tete upwards, and even a large tract on the north side of the river. The letter containing these claims on the part of the King was brought to England by two of his *indunas*, who were sent by him in the beginning of 1889, in order to see with their own eyes "The Great White Queen," who, he had been informed, no longer existed.[1]

[1] As a matter of fact there is little doubt that Lobengula claimed far more territory on the coast than he had any right to do, on any ground whatever. The Portuguese claims, on the other hand, were based on various grounds, quite contradictory in themselves. Had the Portuguese succeeded in making treaties with the independent chiefs on the east of Lobengula's territory, the British South Africa Company would have found itself in an awkward position in spite of Mr. Rhodes's attempt to force the situation. Fortunately, at the

No sooner was the treaty signed than Lobengula was besieged for concessions of land, the main object of which was to obtain the gold with which the country was said to abound, especially in the east, in Mashonaland. The King was perplexed; hence the embassy to England. But by this time, the first half of the year 1889, important preliminary steps had been taken towards the actual occupation of the country by British enterprise.

**The rival companies.**

Reference has just been made to the important part played by Mr. Maund in influencing Lobengula to place his trust in England and her Queen. No sooner was the treaty made known in this country than he was engaged as the agent of a syndicate of capitalists to proceed to Matabeleland and endeavour to obtain from Lobengula a concession of mining rights. It does not affect the validity or the Imperial importance of the treaty that some of those who were behind it had had their eyes all along upon the desirability of procuring mining concessions in Mashonaland under the aegis of British protection. As a matter of fact, it would seem that the first person to actually step forward and make proposals to the British Government on the subject was Mr. George Cawston, member of a financial firm in the City. On 4th May 1888 Mr. Cawston wrote to the Colonial Office, "It is the intention of myself in conjunction with others to send a representative to Matabeleland to negotiate with Lobengula for a treaty for trading, mining, and general purposes."

urgent instigation of Mr. Selous, no time was lost in taking peaceful possession, and in securing the position by making treaties with the independent chiefs, which was effected through the personal influence of Mr. Selous.

He asked if they could reckon upon the support of the British Government in their enterprise. Lord Knutsford replied that the British Government could not mix itself up with mining concessions, and the same intimation was sent to Lobengula, with the caution that he must look after himself in these matters. At the same time, Lord Knutsford stated, any concession obtained in order to be regarded as valid must have the sanction of Her Majesty's Commissioner for South Africa. Further correspondence took place between Mr. Cawston and his friends and Lord Knutsford, with the result that, under the name of "The Exploring Company," a syndicate was formed for the purpose of acquiring and working the mining wealth of Mashonaland. But though Mr. Cawston seems to have been the first to approach the Government with a definite scheme, and although he lost no time in sending out Mr. Maund after he had satisfied the Colonial Office as to his company, another small company or syndicate, being on the spot, had the advantage of him. The moving spirit of this syndicate was Mr. Cecil J. Rhodes, whose name has been so prominent during the last few years in connection with Imperial schemes in Zambesia.

Cecil Rhodes.

Mr. Rhodes, born forty years ago, is the son of an English clergyman. On leaving school at the age of sixteen he was compelled to go to South Africa on account of his health, and there took to farming with his brother. He was in the early rush to Kimberley, and is believed to have amassed very considerable wealth in connection with diamond-mining. Although

unable to attend the University before leaving for Africa, he had determination enough to come home and take his degree at Oxford after a residence of some years in South Africa had restored his health. He was, after his return, connected with the organisation of Bechuanaland as sub-commissioner, and did much to secure that territory without reduction or diminution for England. For several years he has been a Member of the Cape Parliament, and in 1890 became Premier of the Colony. Mr. Rhodes is probably, as are most men, willing enough to make a fortune, and it is generally believed that he has succeeded. But his actions and utterances in recent years show that he is actuated not simply by the desire to accumulate a fortune; indeed, the impression made upon those who know him best is that he is indifferent to money for its own sake. Whatever may have been his original motives for seeking to secure a leading share in the partition of Matabeleland, his aim seems rapidly to have developed into the ambition of forming a great South African Confederation, extending far into the heart of Africa, and joining hands with the British sphere on the Upper Nile. His conduct not only with regard to Matabeleland, but also in connection with his attempt to federate all the South African states, to acquire Damaraland from Germany, and to spread British suzerainty over the wide region on the north of the Zambesi, can only be adequately explained on the supposition that he is actuated by some such motive. At all events, after the treaty had been ratified, Mr. Rhodes, himself keeping in the background, lost no time in acquiring rights over Loben-

His Company.

gula's territory. By the time Mr. Maund reached Matabeleland (early in October 1888) he found that the King had, only a few days previously, granted a full concession of all mining rights to Mr. C. D. Rudd, Mr. Rochfort Maguire, and Mr. F. R. Thompson. The concession was obtained on behalf of the Gold Fields of South Africa Company and a syndicate, of which Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Rudd, and Mr. Alfred Beit were the principal representatives. At first it seemed as if there would be some difficulty in reconciling the claims of this Company with the rights which Mr. Maund maintained had been promised to him personally by Lobengula, and which had been taken over by the Exploring Company. But Mr. Rhodes, who came to England in the summer of 1889, had little difficulty in coming to an understanding with the Exploring Company, with the result that the two interests were amalgamated. The Tati field still remained in the hands of Sir John Swinburne and his Company, though little apparently had been done to develop it. There were still earlier concessions obtained from Lobengula by Baines, which had passed into other hands; these also were taken over by Mr. Rhodes.

**A charter obtained.**

To attempt to enter into and explain all the intricacies of the complication of companies and sub-companies, and their mutual relations, which have interests of more or less importance in Matabeleland, would be an unprofitable task. It is beyond the scope of this work to enter into such details. There were various changes and modifications; the principal companies uniting as the Central Search Association, and

that again developing into the United Concessions Company. However, these interests were to a certain extent concentrated in the Company which early in 1889 took steps to obtain a charter for the development and administration of the country. In April of that year the two leading companies approached Lord Knutsford with a view to obtain a charter for the territories claimed by them. After protracted negotiations, in which Mr. Rhodes was the most prominent representative of the interested companies, the charter sought for was granted by Her Majesty on 15th October 1889, the names of those to whom it was granted being the Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Beit, Mr. Albert Gray, and Mr. Cawston.

The principal field of the operations of the British South Africa Company was defined in the charter to be "the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese dominions." The Company was also empowered to acquire any further concessions, if approved of by "Our Secretary of State." All the usual provisions of such charters were included in the present one, and the Company was virtually authorised not only to develop but to administer the countries for which they had obtained concessions, subject always to the approval of "Our Secretary of State." In short, the Company was empowered to act as the representative of the Imperial Government, without, however, obtaining any assistance from the Govern-

ment to bear the expense of the administration. On the contrary, the Company made a handsome contribution towards the completion of the telegraph line into the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and also undertook to complete the railway from Kimberley to Mafeking. The latter task, as far as Vryburg, was taken over by the Cape Government.

The capital of the Company was a million sterling. It is not easy to define the relations of the Chartered Company to the various other companies which had mining interests in the country. In itself it was not a consolidation of the interests of those companies. Its functions were to administer the country and to work the concessions on behalf of the Concessionaires, in return for which it was to retain fifty per cent of the profits. The Concessionaires guaranteed £700,000 of the Chartered Company's capital. The position was a curious and anomalous one, leading to misunderstanding, so that it is not surprising that very soon an attempt was made really to combine the whole interests in the country in the Chartered Company; with what result remains to be seen. Here it may be again pointed out that the Bechuanaland section of the region included in the charter was, for administrative purposes, in 1890 placed under the Governor of British Bechuanaland, so that on the south of the Zambesi the operations of the Company were confined to Matabeleland and the other countries claimed by Lobengula. Still the Company does not resign its rights to the territory to the north of Bechuanaland.

**The various companies.**

Portuguese companies.

All this activity on the part of England naturally embittered Portugal more and more. In the latter part of the year 1889 Colonel Paiva d'Andrade, an able officer who had been connected with the Sofala district for several years, and had done much good exploring work therein, and Lieutenant Cordon were making their way up the valleys of the Mazoe and other tributaries of the Zambesi, distributing Portuguese flags among the natives, and endeavouring, alas, too late, to establish a semblance of "effective occupation." The Portuguese Government moreover created a new district of Zumbo, on the south of the Zambesi, which embraced some 30,000 square miles of the territory claimed by Lobengula as within his dominions. It is only fair to Colonel Paiva d'Andrade to state that his efforts to extend Portuguese influence and develop the resources of the country claimed by Portugal on the south of the Zambesi date back quite ten years before Lobengula signed his treaty. It may enable us to understand the position of Portugal in the country to the east of Mashonaland, if it be remembered that so long ago as 1878 Colonel d'Andrade obtained what was known as the Paiva d'Andrade concession, the object of which was to exploit the resources and especially the gold of the region known as Manica. Next year this was transferred to the Société Générale de Zambesia of Paris which sent out a large commission of experts under Andrade to report on the country. The Paris Company did not consider the reports of these experts sufficiently encouraging, and they declined to go further in the matter. Andrade then endeavoured to obtain

capital in London, and succeeded in forming the Companhia Africana and the Ophir Company. Spasmodic attempts were made under these companies to work the old mines of Manica.

In 1888 the rights of these companies were made over under certain conditions to the Mozambique Company, which was authorised to undertake a great variety of enterprises, and which to some extent resembled in its objects the British Chartered Company, although it does not seem to have been accorded any powers of administration. A good deal of English capital was embarked in this company, and its agents were set to find and work the gold reported to abound in the Manica interior, on the eastern slopes of what may be generally regarded as the Mashonaland plateau. The most potent chief in this region had been Umzila, who, however, persistently refused to have anything to do with the Portuguese or any other whites. He had been succeeded by his son Gungunhana, with whom the Portuguese maintained they had made a treaty of protection, though as a matter of fact the vacillating chief showed himself ready to make treaties with any one prepared to supply him with unlimited alcohol. Unfortunately for Portugal, the energetic Colonel d'Andrade was not supported as he deserved to be in his attempts to extend Portuguese influence and develop Portugal's East African possessions. All Portugal did was to grant enormous areas, under the title of "Prazos de Coroa," or Crown Farms, to persons, mainly half-castes,—most of whom were independent of the Government, and differed little from slave-holding, slave-trading native chiefs. In the

Manica territory the most powerful of these half-castes was Manuel Antonio de Souza, known as Gouveia, from his place of residence. He could command from 7000 to 8000 native irregulars; with the assistance of these Portugal had been carrying on military operations along the Zambesi, and in the Manica district. In 1888 and 1889 considerable activity was displayed in bringing out steamers and ammunition, some of which were landed at the mouth of the Pungwe River, a river affording a fair waterway for some distance into the Manica interior towards the Mashonaland plateau. In the end of 1889 Colonel d'Andrade returned to Lisbon, but was back again at his post next year watching eagerly the operations of the newly-formed British Chartered Company.

Thus it will be seen that when the British South Africa Company was prepared to enter into active occupation of the territories which they were authorised to exploit, they had on the one hand the *impis* of Lobengula eager to wash their spears in white blood; on the south the Boers of the Transvaal, embittered at being prevented from trekking to the north of the Limpopo, and on the east and the north-east the Portuguese trying to raise a wall of claims and historical pretensions against the tide of English energy. All the time the Lisbon Foreign Office was besieging Downing Street with an incessant discharge of correspondence and reclamations, which it need hardly be said made but little impression.

**The Government and the Chartered Company.**

The relation of the British Government to the Chartered Company and its sphere is very clearly stated in a communication from Lord Knutsford to the

High Commissioner shortly after the Charter was granted. "The Queen can, of course, at any time annex or declare a protectorate over any part of the territory within which the Company operates, and in the absence of any paramount necessity for such annexation or protectorate, or of the failure or misconduct of the Company, security of tenure is granted to the Company for the limited period of twenty-five years, which is deemed by Her Majesty's Government the shortest period within which the Company can be expected to develop and perfect the public part of its enterprise; whilst there is reserved to the Government of the day, at the end of that time, and at every succeeding period of ten years, the right of considering, in the interests of the Empire generally, and of South Africa in particular, how far the administrative and public power of the Company should be continued."

Value of Matabeleland.

At the same time Lord Knutsford wrote to Lobengula in the Queen's name, explaining clearly the significance of the Charter, and strongly urging him to deal only with the Company and refrain from making grants of land to private adventurers. The total area of Matabeleland and its dependencies, which forms the immediate sphere of the Company, is about 100,000 square miles, with a scanty population estimated at 200,000. It is in the main a high table-land, rising in the Mashona country to 5000 and 6000 feet, on the whole well watered, and with a considerable area said by those familiar with it to be admirably adapted to agriculture and even to European colonisation. Over much of it cattle-raising may be carried on to a practi-

cally unlimited extent. As in all parts of tropical Africa, the low-lying lands are unhealthy; but on the higher plateaux, even during the rainy season, with reasonable care Europeans may preserve their health. The general impression produced by the reports of those who have visited and lived in the country, is that in Matabeleland and its dependencies we have a region exceptionally favourable, considering its latitude, to development by European enterprise. As to its gold resources, the most glowing accounts were given and the most extravagant hopes entertained. Inspired by such conceptions as to this Land of Promise, the first pioneer expedition set out early in the summer of 1890 to take possession.

**The Company takes possession.**

With respect to its base of operations, the British South Africa Company, it may be remarked, is much more favourably situated than either of its sister companies in East Africa and in West Africa (the Niger). British East Africa and British West Africa are both tropical without mitigation. They have only the coast as a base-line; with savages and an unsubdued roadless country to deal with from the beginning. The South Africa Company, on the other hand, had a long-settled, temperate colony to start from, with half a million of white population, railways, telegraphs, and other resources of civilisation to form a base of operations, and fall back upon if needful. There was no difficulty then in collecting a special police force of 500 men and a band of 200 pioneers. After the rainy season the body of 700 adventurous Britons marched northwards to take possession of the latest addition to

the Empire. Lieutenant-Colonel E. S. Pennefather was in command of the police, while Sir John Willoughby and other officers formed part of the staff. The pioneers were men provided by contract by Mr. F. Johnson. Mr. Frederick Courteney Selous, the great hunter, who knew the country better than any other white man, took the lead in making a road from the Macloutsie River (tributary of the Limpopo) which formed the real starting-point, north-east and north over the gradually rising plateau to Mount Hampden on the Mazoe River, 400 miles nearer the Zambesi, which it was resolved to make the objective of the expedition. Lobengula gave his consent to the expedition, the only stipulation being that a route should be chosen well to the east of Matabeleland proper, so as to avoid all risk of collision with the thousands of young warriors scattered in kraals all over the King's dominions. It was quite expected that an attempt would be made by these restless young warriors to attack the British force as it made its way northwards; but as a matter of fact no difficulties whatever were experienced in this respect. A start was made from the Macloutsie River on 25th June 1890, and by 12th September Mount Hampden was reached. A road, necessarily rough, was made *pari passu* with the march northwards; forts were built at certain intervals, small garrisons placed in them, and every precaution taken to render the occupation effective. The headquarters were formed close to Mount Hampden, where Fort Salisbury was built, and there in a remarkably short time a town grew up, with its public buildings, hotels, its lawyers and land-agents,

its stores and clubs, its newspapers, and, on an elementary scale, all the other institutions which are characteristic of the social and public life of any body of Englishmen.

Of course, as is the case with all other enterprises, the pioneer expedition to occupy Mashonaland was not unattended by blunders and mistakes; but when every deduction is made, the story of the expedition deserves to be remembered as a memorable event in connection with the expansion of the British Empire, and as affording a marked contrast in its conduct and results to the efforts of the Portuguese for four centuries. When the goal was reached, the pioneer force was disbanded, as had previously been arranged. To each man were allotted a considerable area of ground and rights over a certain portion of the gold reefs which he might be so fortunate as to discover. These disbanded pioneers immediately began prospecting in all directions in search of gold, and taking stock of the capacity of the country for settlement and agricultural development. But there was not much time before the rainy season came upon them; and the rainy season of 1890-91 is one to be remembered in the history of British Zambesia. At any time this season is trying enough, and demands on the part of the white man all possible precautions to preserve his health and avoid disaster; but this was an exceptional year, and, alas! as usual, "some one had blundered." The rainy season of 1890-91 in Mashonaland was one of exceptional severity. The pioneer force had been wretchedly provided both with food and with medicines, the supplies which were to have followed the force were,

through some misunderstanding, stopped. The result was widespread suffering and many deaths. Still, with indomitable pluck the majority of the men made the best of their situation. But the news of their sufferings, combined with the damaging reports sent home by Lord Randolph Churchill, who made an expedition to the country after the rainy season; the conduct of the Portuguese; and other circumstances, all tended to give the new territory a bad name which it did not deserve. But all these things did not damp the ardour either of the pioneers or of the Company. The railway was carried from Kimberley to Vryburg, 150 miles, and early in 1892 the telegraph was continued to Fort Salisbury, which was then brought into direct communication with London. Salisbury increased in size, new towns were begun elsewhere, a regular postal service was established, and Lobengula was at last induced to give the Company rights over the land as well as the mines. The result has been that Cape and Transvaal farmers have taken up large areas of ground for agricultural and cattle farms. A moderate revenue has been raised by the Company from mining and trading licenses, stand-holdings, postal and telegraph services; but practically it has been hitherto all outlay, and not much, it is admitted, can be done for the real development of the country until rapid and cheap communications are established with the outside world. While the railway which is being extended from the Cape will be serviceable to tap Bechuanaland and Western Matabeleland, it is admitted that the outlet for the Mashonaland plateau

Progress made.

must be by the east coast; a railway of less than 200 miles would connect the edge of the plateau with the coast, near the mouth of the Pungwe River, which flows through Portuguese territory.

**Collision with the Portuguese.**

As might have been expected, the action of the pioneer force was watched with jealous and resentful eyes by Portugal. An agreement was concluded between England and Portugal in August 1890, by which the eastern limits of the South Africa Company's claims were fixed, and the course of the unknown Sabi River, from north to south, was taken as a boundary. But this did not satisfy either Portugal or the Company, and the treaty was never ratified. It was, however, taken as the basis of a *modus vivendi*, pending further negotiations. In the meantime Colonel Paiva d'Andrade, Gouveia, and one or two other Portuguese officers, had returned to Manica, and made their way up to the edge of the plateau. They were heard of by the pioneers as being established at the village of Massi Kesse, in the territory of the Chief Mutassa, just where the plateau begins to slope down to the plains. The village, and much of the country to the west, were claimed as being within the Portuguese province of Manica, and therefore part of the territory conceded to the Mozambique Company and its subordinate companies. In the neighbourhood the agents of these companies had been at work mining.

Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun, who had done good service in India and the East, had been appointed administrator of the British Company's territory. He was succeeded by an intimate friend of Mr. Rhodes,

Dr. Jameson, who had given up a lucrative practice at Kimberley to accompany the pioneers. Mr. Selous, the mighty hunter, was also on the administrative staff, as well as Major Forbes, the Hon. Eustace Fiennes, and other men, not to be easily frightened at any demonstrations made by Portuguese representatives. The abortive treaty referred to above was not actually accepted as the basis of a *modus vivendi* till November 1890. In the previous September, Mr. Colquhoun, with a few companions, went down to Mutassa's Kraal, in the Manica country, and without difficulty induced him to conclude a treaty making over his country to British protection; his chiefship is a small triangle on the edge of the plateau, between 18° and 19° S., and 32° and 33° E. long. Meantime Colonel Paiva d'Andrade, Gouveia, Baron de Rezende (representing the Mozambique Company), and one or two others, with an armed force of Gouveia's men, were on their way to Mutassa's. They were heard of as being at the village of Massi Kesse, a small station of the Mozambique Company, a few miles east of Mutassa's Kraal. Mr. Colquhoun resolved to take decisive measures. A small force was sent over under Major Forbes, who on arriving at Mutassa's found the village occupied by the Portuguese. Notwithstanding his greatly inferior force he made his way into the village and arrested Andrade, Gouveia, and Baron de Rezende. The two former were taken prisoners to Fort Salisbury, and the latter allowed to return to Massi Kesse, which was provisionally occupied by a small force of the Company's police. Andrade and Gouveia were sent to the Cape.

This incident caused great excitement at the time, and gave rise to very bitter feelings in Portugal against England. A band of student volunteers was raised in Lisbon, and amid patriotic demonstrations was hurriedly sent out to the mouth of the Pungwe, with the apparent intention of marching up to Manica and driving out the British. Needless to say, few of them left the coast. Obviously these relations between the two countries could not long continue, and happily they were brought to an end by the ratification of a new agreement, signed on the 11th June 1891, under which Portugal can hardly be said to have fared so well as she would have done under the one repudiated by the Cortes in the previous year. The boundary between the British Company's territories was drawn farther east than in the previous treaty. The line starting from the Zambesi near Zumbo runs in a general south-east direction to a point where the Mazoe River is cut by the 33rd degree of east longitude. The boundary then runs in a generally south direction to the junction of the Lunde and the Sabi, where it strikes south-west to the north-east corner of the South African Republic, on the Limpopo. In tracing the frontier along the slope of the plateau, the Portuguese sphere was not allowed to come farther west than 32° 30′ E. of Greenwich, nor the British sphere east of 33° E. A slight deflection westwards was made so as to include Massi Kessi in the Portuguese sphere; Mutassa's town is left in the British sphere. Although Gungunhana, King of Gazaland, sent two envoys to England in the summer of 1891, to offer his allegiance

Anglo-Portuguese arrangement.

to Her Majesty, Lord Salisbury was firm, and declined to take him under British protection, except as to that portion which is, according to the Anglo-Portuguese Agreement, within the British sphere.

There is no doubt that by the new treaty the Company added considerably to its gold-producing territory. Further, according to the terms of the arrangement, the navigation of the Zambesi and the Shiré was declared free to all nations. A maximum duty of 3 per cent was all that Portugal agreed to charge, for a period of twenty-five years, for goods in transit from the east coast to the Company's territories. Other mutual privileges were granted, and Portugal agreed to undertake the construction of a railway from the mouth of the Pungwe to the plateau, and that under conditions which would prevent her delaying the undertaking for an indefinite period. There were, however, delays and difficulties in carrying out the scheme, the accomplishment of which was absolutely necessary for the development of Mashonaland, so that it was not till 1892 that the railway was actually begun, some thirty-five miles being finished by the end of the year. However, the main difficulties had been overcome, and by the summer of 1892 the Company was in undoubted possession of its territory, though to a large extent paralysed from want of a rapid and cheap means of communication with the outer world. Whether when a large white population has taken possession of Mashonaland they will be content to be governed by a chartered Company, without any voice in the management of their affairs,

or whether they will insist on direct Imperial administration, remains to be seen.

While these incidents on the south of the Zambesi were keeping all Europe in a state of excitement, equally stirring events were taking place on the north of the river, where also a great area was being included in the British sphere.

British enterprises on the Lake Nyassa region.

England's connection with the Lake Nyassa region, it has been seen, dates from the time of Livingstone's great Zambesi Expedition. As the result of Livingstone's work, missions, Scotch and English, were established near the Shiré, which joins the lake with the Zambesi, and on the shores of the lake itself. In 1878 a trading company consisting of Scotch merchants was formed under the name of "The Livingstone Central Africa Company," for opening up to navigation and trade the rivers and lakes of Central Africa to which the Zambesi is the approach. This is the Company generally known as the "African Lakes Company"; its capital was at first £20,000, afterwards increased to £100,000. Its aims were somewhat ambitious. "The acquisition of land, the formation of plantations, the introduction of various cultures, the establishment of trade, the transport of goods, were among the means by which the subscribers were to carry out their objects. It was understood, moreover, that the Company would act as a sort of secular adjunct to the missions established in the region. It can hardly be said that the operations of the Company were conducted with any great amount of energy and enter-

prise. Stations were established on the Shiré and on the west shores of the lake; and a high-road, the Stevenson Road, was made between Lake Nyassa and Lake Tanganyika. Planting on a small scale was carried on, and some little trade was done. The boats belonging to the Company were of service in carrying the missionaries and their stores to the stations in Nyassaland; but for the development of the country much more was effected by private enterprise, by the efforts of such men as the brothers Buchanan, than by the operations of the Company. The Blantyre Highlands to the east of the Upper Shiré and the north of the river Ruo were found admirably adapted to the culture of coffee, and by 1887 promising plantations had been established. By that year, through the united efforts of the missionaries, the Company, private traders, and H.M. Consul at Mozambique, Mr. O'Neill, British interests in the region around Lake Nyassa had become very considerable. Comparatively feeble as the efforts of the African Lakes Company had been, they certainly did more for the legitimate development of the resources of the country than did the efforts of Portugal during the long centuries she had been on the Lower Zambesi. Until Germany entered the field Portugal does not seem to have disturbed herself greatly as to the British occupation of the country on the Shiré and Lake Nyassa. Her consent to the abortive treaty with England of 1884, guaranteeing among other things the free navigation of the Lower Zambesi, was a tacit admission that Great Britain had a right to territories to which the river gave access.

**Claims of Portugal.**

When the proposed arrangement was abandoned, when the scramble became general, when Germany, France, England, and the King of the Belgians were sweeping one region after another into their grasp, Portugal became alive to her critical position on the Continent. In return for what she regarded as certain concessions to Germany and France, each of these powers in 1886 professed to recognise the right of the King of Portugal to those territories which lie between the Portuguese possessions of Angola and Mozambique, without prejudice, however, to the claims of other Powers who may already have exercised their "sovereign and civilising influence" in the region in question. Enough has been said already of the supposed rights of Portugal to a trans-African Empire. At the date at which we have arrived she could produce no evidence of serious occupation, nothing to be compared even to the comparatively slender establishments of British missionaries and traders in the Nyassa region. Portugal, it is probable, never seriously believed that her claims would be for a moment entertained by Great Britain; she no doubt imagined if she made these claims extensive enough, that it might be possible to save something out of the scramble. The Marquis of Salisbury, writing to the British Minister at Lisbon, in August 1887, with reference to the claims laid down in certain recently published Portuguese maps, said, "it has now been admitted on principle by all the parties to the Act of Berlin that a claim of sovereignty in Africa can only be maintained by real occupation of the territory claimed. . . . You will make a formal

A trans-African Empire

protest against any claims not founded on occupation, and you will say that Her Majesty's Government cannot recognise Portuguese sovereignty in territories not occupied by her in sufficient strength to enable her to maintain order, protect foreigners, and control the natives. You will state that this protest specially applies to the districts of Lake Nyassa occupied by British traders and missionaries, and to Matabeleland."

It has just been shown what was the result of this fiat in Matabeleland. Whether Lord Salisbury when he wrote these lines had in view the wholesale annexation of the region between Angola and Mozambique, or only the region immediately occupied by British traders and missionaries in Nyassaland, we cannot say. Probably, as in most of the recent movements of the Powers in Africa, he had no very definite area in view at first; his conception doubtless expanded rapidly as events succeeded each other.

As in Southern Zambesia, so on the north of the river, Portugal made haste to endeavour to obviate the results of her long neglect by rushing in and planting her flag on the threatened territory.

In this connection a passage from a despatch by Lord Salisbury to the British Minister at Lisbon, dated 25th June 1888, is worth quoting. "It is, as Senhor Barros Gomes admits, a disputed point whether, nearly 300 years since, a Portuguese traveller did, or did not, see the waters of Lake Nyassa; the decision of this controversy has no practical value at the present day as regards the political situation. It is, on the other hand, an undisputed point that the recent discoveries

of the English traveller Livingstone were followed by organised attempts on the part of English religious and commercial bodies to open up and civilise the districts surrounding and adjoining the lake. Many British settlements have been established, the access to which by the sea is by the rivers Zambesi and Shiré. Her Majesty's Government and the British public are much interested in the welfare of these settlements. Portugal does not occupy, and has never occupied, any portions of the lake nor of the Shiré; she has neither authority nor influence beyond the confluence of the Shiré and Zambesi, where her interior custom-house, now withdrawn, was placed by the terms of the Mozambique tariff of 1877."

During 1887 Portugal endeavoured in vain to advance her claims by voluminous correspondence, intended to prove her historical rights. An attempt in 1888 to close the Zambesi to navigation by British vessels had to be abandoned in face of the persistent demands of Lord Salisbury. In other ways she, through her Mozambique authorities, did her utmost to hamper the communications of the African Lakes Company; but before Lord Salisbury's firm stand all these attempts had to give way.

**Troubles with the Arabs.**

During 1888 the British position in the Lake Nyassa region was complicated by the hostility of the Arab slave-dealers against the missionaries and the trading companies. The Arabs were naturally alarmed at the progress made by British influence in the region, a progress which in the end might, they feared, extinguish their occupation. Hostilities were carried on for

some months in the district west of Lake Nyassa, and it was in connection with these that the name of Captain F. D. Lugard first came prominently before the British public. He rendered valuable service against the Arabs and their native allies, and probably was the means of preventing a wholesale massacre of the British in the country. The Portuguese officials at Mozambique did their utmost to hamper the British by preventing the importation of much-needed ammunition and weapons. It was not till the advent of Mr. H. H. Johnston, as Her Majesty's representative in Nyassaland, that an understanding was come to between the Arabs and the Lakes Company. While slave-trading was by no means extinguished, it was to a considerable extent suppressed, though much yet remains to be done ere it is abolished entirely. Unfortunately the evidence is only too convincing that men calling themselves Portuguese subjects do quite as much to continue the traffic north of the Zambesi as the Arabs.

**Portuguese attempts to take possession.**

While these troubles were harassing the British occupants of Nyassaland in 1888, Portugal was making a final determined effort to obtain possession of a region which she had so long neglected. So late as October 1888 the British Minister at Lisbon was able to assure Senhor Barros Gomes that England had no intention of establishing exclusive jurisdiction over the Lake Nyassa region; she simply desired unhampered freedom for her missionaries and traders. This neutral attitude did not long continue. Towards the end of 1888 our watchful consul at Mozambique, Mr. H. O'Neill, reported that a formidable expedition was on its way

to the Shiré River and the west shore of Lake Nyassa, under Antonio Cardoso. Though this expedition reached the south shore of the lake, its reception by the natives was so unfavourable that in the spring of 1889 it was resolved at Lisbon to send a relief expedition to its aid, under the command of the famous Serpa Pinto. About the same time a royal decree established and endowed a Roman Catholic Mission on the south shore of Lake Nyassa. The intention of this was obvious. Efforts were, moreover, made by the Portuguese authorities at Mozambique to induce various chiefs in the neighbourhood of the lake to declare themselves vassals of Portugal, but without success. The expedition under Serpa Pinto, however, caused more anxiety than any other effort on the part of Portugal to outdo Great Britain; and by the middle of 1889 it became apparent that no half-measures would suffice, and that if Great Britain were to secure her interests in Northern Zambesia, she must do so by placing the region under her flag, and so including it within the sphere of British influence. By this time Mr. H. H. Johnston, who had done excellent service in West Africa, had reached his post as British Consul at Mozambique, charged as such with the care of British interests in the interior. Mr. Johnston was not the man to allow himself to be outwitted. Whatever may have been his secret instructions, he took with him a supply of British flags, and lost no time in making his way to the Shiré River which, it soon became obvious, was the ultimate destination of the force under Major Serpa Pinto. By the latter part

of 1889 this force had been increased to some five thousand. Serpa Pinto professed that the expedition was a peaceful one, his object being merely to pass through the country of the Makololo for the purpose of exploring in the region of Lake Nyassa. These Makololo were the remnants of those who had accompanied Livingstone in his first great expedition across Africa, and had settled in the country to the west of the Shiré. Here they soon became dominant, and though only a handful, made themselves masters of the whole country. The action of the Portuguese force belied the professions of its commander. The Makololo were attacked, and many of them killed. They had always remained attached to the English, and Acting-Consul John Buchanan, who resided at Blantyre, lost no time in formally declaring the Makololo country under the British flag, at least to the north of the junction of the Ruo and the Shiré. This action was confirmed by Consul Johnston when he arrived on the scene, and subsequent treaties with native chiefs, both in the Shiré district, on the west of Lake Nyassa, and as far as Lake Tanganyika, to which Mr. Johnston proceeded, barred the way against further Portuguese aggression. Mr. Johnston's activity in securing British interests in this important region was admirable. For important it is; not only in the Blantyre Highlands, but in the lofty plateau lying between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, the country is capable of considerable industrial development, and is comparatively favourable to the residence of Europeans, for a time at least.

H. H. Johnston frustrates them.

During these operations, conjoined as they were

with the operations already described on the south of the Zambesi, the excitement in Portugal against England was intense. The Portuguese Government continued to insist on what they considered their ancient rights, but to such unsubstantial claims Lord Salisbury would not listen. Lord Salisbury's ideas and aims had developed enormously during 1888, as will be seen from the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 20th August 1890, which included within the British sphere nearly the whole region lying to the north of the Zambesi as far west as Lake Bangweolo, and as far north as the line joining the north shore of Lake Nyassa and the south shore of Lake Tanganyika. But as has already been seen this agreement was never ratified; by the arrangement of 14th November following, it was taken as the basis of a *modus vivendi*.

**Extended British enterprise.**

Meanwhile the Portuguese officials on the Shiré continued to annoy British traders and explorers, and the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique did what they could to hamper British commerce. Commissioned by Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Joseph Thomson, the eminent African explorer, accompanied by Mr. Grant, son of the late Colonel Grant, ascended the Shiré for the purpose of proceeding westwards to Lake Bangweolo. While proceeding along the Shiré he was actually fired upon at the instigation of the Portuguese, happily without injurious results. The real object of the expedition, it may be stated here, as of another sent out at the same time under Mr. Sharpe, was to secure the country of Katanga (Msidi's Kingdom) lying on the west of Lake Moero, for the

British South Africa Company. Mr. Rhodes showed scarcely his usual shrewdness and tact in this enterprise. The district coveted undoubtedly lay within the cartographical limits of the Congo Free State, and not unnaturally the King of the Belgians resented this attempt to snatch from his grasp a country reputed to be rich in gold and copper. The King might easily have been induced to enter into an arrangement with Mr. Rhodes had the latter shown more diplomacy; as it was, a Katanga (Belgian) Company was immediately formed, and the country was speedily taken possession of in the name of the Free State. Thus, so far as the acquisition of the Katanga territory went, the expeditions under Mr. Thomson and Mr. Sharpe went for nothing.

A British Commissioner appointed to Northern Zambesia.

Mr. Rhodes not only coveted Katanga, but had the ambition of sweeping under the sway of his Chartered Company the region worked by the Lakes Company and all the territory north of the Zambesi. The Lakes Company, it has been seen, was never characterised by stupendous enterprise; their operations had always been, probably from lack of funds, on a petty scale. Mr. Rhodes offered therefore to incorporate the Company with the South-African Company, and to allow them a handsome annual subsidy. Mr. H. H. Johnston, who had come home after securing British interests in Northern Zambesia, returned to his post in the spring of 1891, as Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for Nyassaland, and Administrator of Northern Zambesia. To enable Mr. Johnston to carry on his work of administration and development, the British South Africa Company

contributed £10,000 a year. Mr. Johnston had with him a small staff, including an engineer officer and a practical botanist. He established his headquarters at Zombo, to the north of Blantyre, and on his arrival set himself at once to the establishment of an administration, to the furtherance of legitimate trade, and to the encouragement of the industrial development of the extensive region placed under his care. Mr. Johnston's work was facilitated by the ratification of the Anglo-Portuguese Agreement of 11th June 1891, which settled all disputes as to boundaries. By this agreement the whole of the region to the north of the Zambesi, west of the Shiré and Lake Nyassa, to the Barotse country on both sides of the Upper Zambesi, —the precise western limit not being defined—is included in the British sphere. Most of Lake Bangweolo was included, and half of Lake Moero, the northern limit being a line joining the north end of Lake Nyassa and the south shore of Lake Tanganyika. This line was adjusted with Germany, who succeeded in including within her sphere one of the most fertile districts on Lake Nyassa. There was left to Portugal a triangular block of land on the north of the Zambesi, between Zumbo and the Lower Shiré. On the east of the Shiré the Ruo River forms the southern boundary of British territory, which included a block on the side of the river up to Nyassa. On the west side the boundary came lower down. By this arrangement, something like 350,000 square miles were added to the British sphere, including some of the best watered and most promising portions of Central Africa.

**Progress in Northern Zambesia.**

Mr. Johnston naturally began his work of organisation with the country south of the Lake. The missionaries, who had hitherto been supreme in these parts, did not take kindly to the intrusion of the Civil Power, and some friction was at first the result. Much more serious was the friction which took place between the representative of Her Majesty and the slave-trading chief Makanjila on the south shore of the Lake. An encounter between a small English force and the chief resulted disastrously for the former But such encounters are inevitable during the process of parting Africa among the Powers of Europe; if this is to be effected, the native chiefs and people must be made to see that resistance is hopeless. In dealing with native chiefs, however, and with Arab, or so-called Arab, settlers and traders, the greatest tact is needed, and patience. To attempt to sweep slavery off the face of the Continent at one coup will result only in the defeat of the object aimed at. Happily Mr. Johnston has shown on more than one occasion that he knows how to deal both with natives and with Arabs, and there is every reason to hope that under his administration Northern Zambesia, or British Central Africa, as it is officially called, will develop into a land of peace and settled industry. This will all the sooner be accomplished if Her Majesty's representative is loyally supported by the missionaries and the traders who have already done so much to render the name of Great Britain respected. Mr. Johnston has divided the protectorate on Lake Nyassa and the country beyond into provinces and districts; a considerable

revenue is raised by customs duties and taxation; the Shiré has become a highway of trade; it is rendered secure by two gunboats; two other gunboats are to be placed on the Lake; and everything seems to promise that in the near future British Central Africa will be flourishing and prosperous. In the end of 1892 the Lakes Company was definitely incorporated with the British South Africa Company.

The work of the Scotch missionaries here has been remarkably successful in many ways; they have shown great practical sense, and have so far overcome the labour difficulty as to have erected a handsome church entirely with free native labour. The natives come hundreds of miles begging for work as labourers on the coffee plantations.

Mr. Joseph Thomson returned in shattered health in the end of 1891 from his expedition to Lake Bangweolo. He traversed the plateau region between Lakes Nyassa and Bangweolo in various directions, and his report to the Company speaks in glowing terms of the salubrity of the region and of its suitability for plantations and for cattle-rearing. Meantime Mr. Rhodes, who visited England in the latter part of 1892, has floated a scheme for the construction of a line of telegraph through the heart of Africa, joining all the lakes, and bringing the Cape into communication with Cairo. Mr. Rhodes has been so successful in all he has touched that he may be able to accomplish this enterprise also, an enterprise which cannot but contribute to the development of the Continent.

# CHAPTER XXI

## AFRICAN ISLANDS

Madagascar—Neighbouring islands—Islands off the West Coast.

FOR the sake of completeness reference may be briefly made to the destiny of the principal African islands. Socotra and the Zanzibar islands have already been dealt with. The great island of Madagascar is virtually a French Protectorate. The connection of France with Madagascar is of ancient date. The island was known to Marco Polo and the Arabs, and was discovered, so far as Europe is concerned, by the Portuguese navigator Diego Diaz in 1500. Both Portuguese and Dutch, in the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, tried in vain to establish themselves on the island. In the early part of the latter century the French established themselves in Madagascar, to which they gave the name of Île Dauphin or France Orientale. Fort Dauphin, at the south end of the island, was founded in 1644; it was destroyed in 1672, and many of the colonists who had settled in the island were massacred. By various decrees in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries French rights to Madagascar were asserted. Madagascar.

In 1750 the little island of Sainte Marie, off Madagascar, was ceded to France, though the French were expelled eleven years after; but the island has remained French ever since. Fort Dauphin was reconstructed in 1768. In 1773-86 the Hungarian Count Benyovski attempted to establish French influence, but without success; equally unsuccessful was another attempt in the first year of the nineteenth century. The island was taken possession of by Great Britain in 1811. In the Treaty of Paris, Madagascar is not mentioned among the colonies which were not to be restored to France, and although the English Governor of Mauritius attempted to maintain that Madagascar was a dependency of the latter, he did not succeed. At the same time British influence has become strong in the island through the labours of missionaries. The London Missionary societies, as well as other British societies, have secured the adhesion of thousands of the Hovas, the ruling people in Madagascar, yet the British Government has never seriously attempted to assert any claims to domination, though early in the century there were treaties of friendship between this country and the Madagascar rulers. The small islands of Nossi-Bé, Nossi-Mitsiou, and Nossi-Cumba were taken possession of in 1845 by the French, who had been attempting in preceding years to make their influence felt on the main island. Other efforts were made in succeeding years to establish French influence, but without success. Under various pretexts France made war upon the Malagasies in 1883-85, the result being that a treaty was concluded in October 1885, literally establishing a French Pro-

tectorate over the island, with the cession of the Bay of Diego Suarez on the north of the island. By the Anglo-French agreement of August 1890 the French Protectorate over Madagascar was recognised by Great Britain, in return for the acknowledgment by France of a British Protectorate over Zanzibar. It cannot be said that the Malagasy have ever thoroughly succumbed to French influence, though all the foreign relations of the island are supposed to be in the hands of France. A French Resident-General with a small military escort resides at the capital. The resources of the island have never been developed to any extent. Roads are almost non-existent. Though it is doubtful if ever it could be colonised by Europeans in the true sense, the high lands of the interior are healthy, and are capable of being turned to good account, both for cattle-rearing and agriculture. The people themselves, especially the Hovas, are of a higher type than the Africans, and under good guidance might do much to render their island of great commercial value.

Neighbouring islands.

The neighbouring island of Mayotte was ceded to France in 1840, while the Comoros, half-way between Madagascar and the African Coast, were taken possession of in 1886. The island of Réunion has belonged to France since 1764. Mauritius was occupied by France in 1715, but was taken by England in 1810, and at the Treaty of Paris, in 1815, it remained British, with, as satellites, Rodriguez, the Amirantes, the Seychelles, and various scattered small islands.

Islands off the West Coast.

On the other side of Africa it may be said that the Açores, Madeira, and the Cape Verd islands have

been Portuguese since the fifteenth century, as the Canaries have been Spanish. Various islands off the West Coast are attached to the territories on the mainland opposite which they lie. Fernando Po was ceded to Spain by Portugal in 1778, as was the island of Annobon. The islands of Principé and San Thomé have been Portuguese since the fifteenth century. St. Helena, usually regarded as an African island, was taken from the Dutch by the English in 1650. Ascension was occupied by Great Britain in 1815, and in the year following the distant islets of Tristan D'Acunha were occupied by the same Powers.

Thus all these fragmentary appendages of the great Continent have been picked up by various Powers of Europe, and no African island now remains to be scrambled for.

# CHAPTER XXII

## THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF AFRICA

Extent and monotony of Africa—The tropical continent *par excellence*—Its relation to the ocean—Monotony of outline—Configuration of the surface—Lack of mountain ranges—High mean elevation—Temperature—Obstruction to river-navigation—Prevailing winds and rainfall—Lakes and rivers—Results of peculiar geography of Africa—Economical characteristics of tropical regions—North and South Africa—Extent of desert land—Distribution of animals—Minerals—Communications—Modes of conveyance—The natives—Labour supply—Density of population—Commercial value of Central Africa—How are its resources to be developed?—Can the natives be utilised?—The *rôle* of the white man—Colonisation—North Africa—White colonisation—South Africa, its value.

SUCH then in brief is the story of the "Scramble for Africa" and its results. It will enable us to form some idea of the value of the share which has fallen to each of the Powers who have been engaged in the scramble, if we endeavour to realise what are the leading characteristics of the geography of Africa, so far as these bear upon its economical development. **Extent and monotony of Africa.**

It was a prevalent belief among the ancient Greek and Roman geographers, and even down to the time of the Arab occupation, that the torrid zone of the earth, and especially of Africa, was uninhabitable on account of its heat. Though not precisely in the sense in which these ancients meant it, there is a great deal of truth

in this. From the European point of view, at least, Central Africa is believed by many authorities to be, as a whole, uninhabitable, or at least uncolonisable, on account of its heat.

There is another impression very prevalent at the present day, for which African travellers reproach us. We are apt, we are told, to forget that Africa is not a little bit of a country like England or France or Italy or even India, but that it is a great continent embracing some 11,500,000 square miles—5000 miles long from north to south, and 4500 miles wide at its broadest part; and that, as a continent stretching over some 70° of latitude and nearly as many of longitude, it must have many varieties of feature, of climate, of products, of people. While there is no doubt much justification for the reproach, the popular conception is, after all, not so very far wrong. Africa is the most uniform, the most monotonous, of all the continents; amid all its variety there is a certain sameness, a certain family likeness from north to south and east to west.

This comparative uniformity of the Continent of Africa, and the fact of its having been so repellent to the intervention of white races reared in temperate latitudes, can to a large extent be accounted for by comparing the lie of Africa with that of the other continents. It lies almost evenly balanced on each side of the equator, between about 40° north and 40° south. The equinoctial line which passes through its centre does not touch the Euro-Asiatic continent. The Tropic of Cancer, which

skirts the south of China and passes through the centre of India and Arabia, leaving the bulk of the Euro-Asiatic continent to the north, runs across the north of Africa, leaving only about 3,000,000 square miles between it and the Mediterranean; while less than 1,000,000 square miles lie to the south of the Tropic of Capricorn, at the other end of the Continent. Again, the whole of North America is outside of the tropics. Of the southern half of that continent, much of the tropical area is occupied by the ocean with its moderating influences; and, while the larger part of South America is within the tropics, still a very considerable portion is situated to the south of Capricorn, and down almost to the verge of Antarctic influences. While the climate of the southern shores of Europe is very similar to that of the Mediterranean coast of Africa, and while the southern peninsulas of Asia are purely tropical, every variety of climate is found between that and the ice-bound shores of Siberia. In the other hemisphere, while the feet of the North American continent are laved by the warm waters of the Gulf Stream, its head is almost within hail of the North Pole. Of Australia even, the larger half is outside tropical influences, and its non-tropical shores face the broad ocean and not landlocked seas, as do the north and north-east coasts of Africa. Africa, then, is the tropical continent *par excellence*. Of its total area some two-thirds, almost 8,000,000 square miles, lie between the tropics, and have the sun vertical twice a year, while the rest of the Continent is more or less sub-tropical; so that, so far as climate

**The tropical continent par excellence.**

goes, the popular conception is not far wrong. Even of America only about one-third of the land is within the tropics.

Here, then, we have a barrier to European intercourse and settlement which does not exist to anything like the same extent on any other continent. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader how this question of latitude acts as a barrier to the European occupation of the bulk of Africa. Perhaps it is not wise to be too dogmatic on the subject, for the data we possess are scanty in the extreme. But there is no doubt that among those who are entitled to speak with authority on the subject it is held that colonisation, in the proper sense of the term, is impossible in a tropical country, unless the European can change his constitution, unless in the course of ages a variety is developed differing materially from the races that now occupy at least Northern and Central Europe—and such a variety would practically cease to be European.

**Its relation to the ocean.**

But there are other geographical factors to be taken into account, which modify the general effects of latitude, partly mitigating, partly intensifying them. We have seen how Africa lies compared with the situation of other continents. What about its relation to the great water-mass of the globe? We find its southern shores looking out upon the Antarctic, a long way off; from its western shores the broad Atlantic bears away without obstruction, and nothing intervenes between its eastern coast and the genial influence of the Indian Ocean. The northern and north-eastern coasts of the

Continent are much less fortunately situated, only the narrow waters of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea separate Africa from the vast land-mass of Europe and Asia. The whole of the east and south coast is bathed by warm currents, as is also the Guinea Coast round to about the Senegal. The comparatively cold Benguela current runs along the west coast from the Cape to north of the Congo, while another coldish current skirts the west coast of the Sahara.

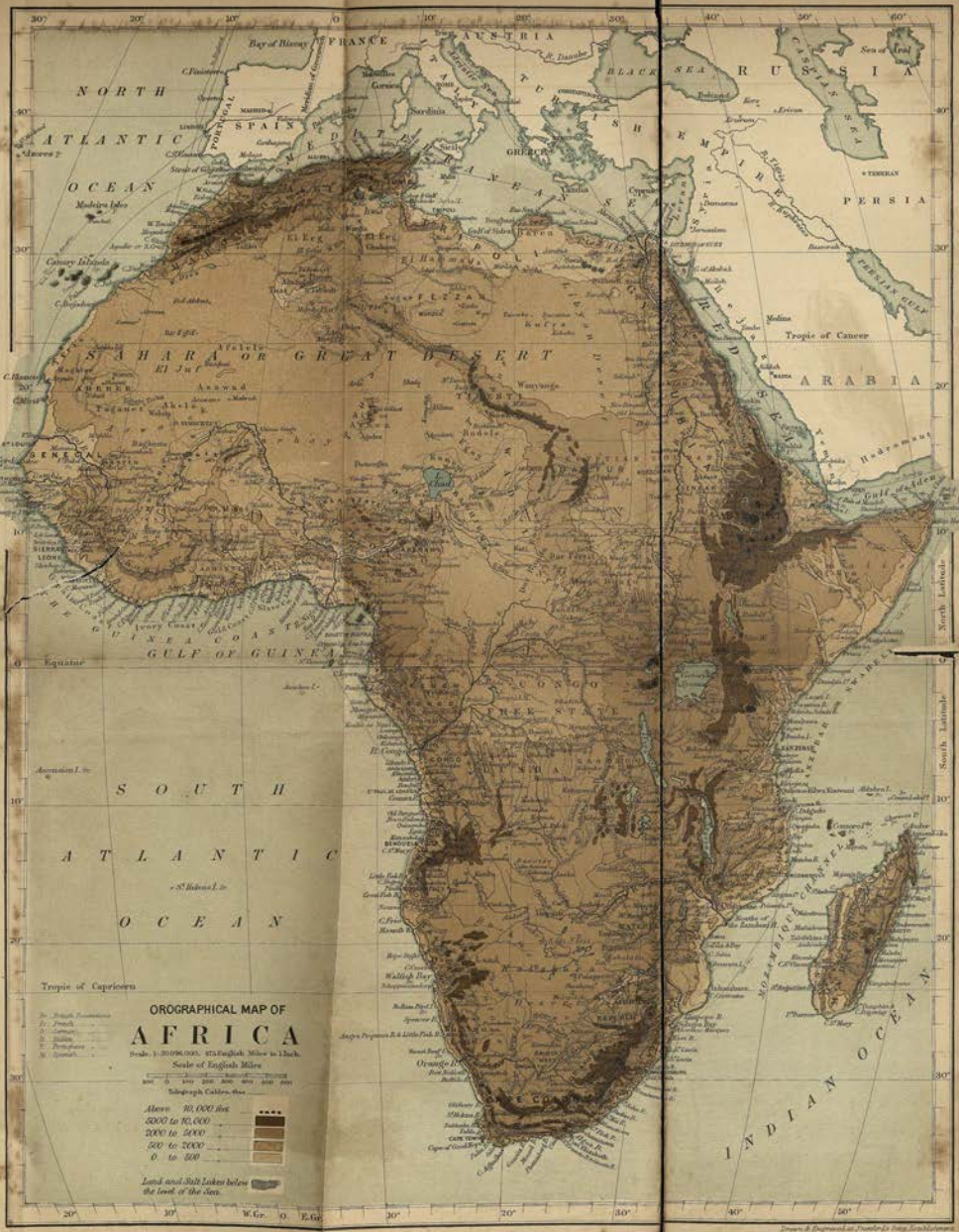
Monotony of outline.

Unfortunately these currents sweep their way around a coast of sad monotony of contour. Though Africa is more than three times the size of Europe, and although it is practically an island while Europe has an extensive land frontier, the coast-line of Africa measures only about 15,000 miles in length, while that of Europe is 19,000 miles. A glance at a map of the world will show how this marked difference arises. There is not a single indentation on the coast of Africa worthy of the name; the coast-line all round looks like a barrier to keep back the beneficent advances of the ocean. Compare the north coast of Africa with the opposite coast of Europe, with its long Adriatic, and its Black Sea, with its entrances and offshoots. There is nothing in the whole round of the African coast to compare on the one hand with the great sea-arms and magnificent natural harbours that mark the west coast of Europe, including our own islands, nor with the richly-broken Atlantic coast of North America on the other. There is only one estuary of real magnitude on the whole continent, that of the Congo; hence partly the great hopes entertained of the future of that river. Such

second-rate harbours as those of Delagoa Bay and Mombasa are reckoned valuable possessions in Africa, for which nations struggle. This monotonous outline of the African coast acts disadvantageously in two ways from the point of view of European enterprise. In the first place, the lack of deep oceanic indentations deprives the great bulk of the Continent of the beneficent influences which contiguity to the sea brings with it; and in the second place, it deprives the enterprising navigator and trader of ready highways to the interior. Thus the mere character of the contour of the coast has contributed to retard the development of the Continent. At the same time, let us recall the fact that the spread of railways over the Continent would tend greatly to counteract the commercial disadvantages arising from the lack of deep arms of the sea, navigable rivers, and natural harbours. Railways are the great levellers, shattering old geographical traditions, and tending to place all continents on an equal footing, so far as communications are concerned.

**Configuration of the surface.**

Passing from the contour of the coast-line to the configuration of the surface of the Continent, we find here again certain characteristics which distinguish Africa from all the other continents, except perhaps Australia, which might have been as far behind in civilisation as Africa had its latitude been different. The surface of Africa is nearly as monotonous as its outline. There is only one mountain range worthy of the name, that of the Atlas, which extends along the northern rim of the Continent from Tunis to the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and rising at its loftiest point, Miltsin, to


OROGRAPHICAL MAP OF
AFRICA
Scale of English Miles
Telegraph Cables, thus
Above 10,000 feet
5000 to 10,000
2000 to 5000
500 to 2000
0 to 500
Land and Salt Lakes below the level of the Sea
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
SAHARA OR GREAT DESERT
GULF OF GUINEA
CONGO FREE STATE
RUSSIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
FRANCE
SPAIN
AUSTRIA
GREECE
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
Madeira Isles
Canary Islands
Bay of Biscay
Sea of Aral
Hadramaut
Gulf of Aden
Ivory Coast
Walfish Bay
Orange R.
Cape Town
Cape of Good Hope
Ascension I.
St. Helena I.
Drawn & Engraved at Stanford's Geog. Establishment
London: Edward Stanford, 26 & 27 Cockspur St., Charing Cross, S.W.

13,000 feet. Eastwards we find a line of detached heights, between the Nile and the Red Sea, with one or two points over 6000 feet, and leading us on to the great mountain mass of Abyssinia, rising in terrace after terrace to a culminating height of 15,000 feet, with a cap of perpetual snow. Proceeding southwards over a lofty plateau, we come upon another smaller mass of elevated land on the north-east and east of Victoria Nyanza, to which the Aberdare range belongs, and which is marked by such magnificent heights as Elgon, 14,000; Kenia, 18,000; and Kilimanjaro, 20,000—all of them old volcanoes, and one of them, Dunyé-M'buro, not yet extinct. Scattered over the region between this and Lakes Nyassa and Bangweolo we find a few points rising to over 6000 feet, but there is no other mountain range till we meet the Drackensberg in South-East Africa, rising in places to 10,000 feet, and continued under varying names and at a lower level south-west and west into Cape Colony. Between that and the Cameroons only one or two spots reach a height of over 6000 feet. In the small mass of Cameroons we rise to 13,700 feet, and find ourselves in an old volcanic region continued into Fernando Po and neighbouring islands. Between Cameroons and Lake Chad Mount Atlantika shoots up beyond the general level of the plateau; while Ruwenzori (20,000 feet) and its neighbouring summits, to the south of Albert Nyanza, may be taken as belonging to the great volcanic series around Victoria Nyanza and north to Abyssinia. Even the Sahara is not so deadly level as is popularly believed; there is a line of heights running

north-west from Darfur, and culminating in Tibesti in a summit which deserves to be called a mountain, for it rises to over 7000 feet.

Lack of mountain ranges.

But when all is put together the really mountainous regions of Africa amount to little compared with the great size of the Continent. We have nothing in Africa that can compare in comparative mass and extent with the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Apennines, the Carpathians, the Scandinavian ranges, in Europe, not to mention the Himalayas and the stupendous ranges of Central Asia, and the Andes and Rocky Mountains that run the whole length of the American continent. This lack of great mountain ranges upon the African Continent must be regarded as another serious drawback to its economical development, since it markedly affects its rainfall and the distribution of its water supply. Nearly all the mountain regions we have referred to bear evidence of gigantic volcanic activity at a past period in the history of the Continent. The geological history of the Continent is, no doubt, one of great interest, but we cannot dwell upon it even if adequate data existed, which they do not. That at a recent period Africa was connected with Europe no one doubts, but the idea that the present surface of the Sahara is an old sea-bed has been abandoned in the face of recently-accumulated evidence. Over much of the Continent the old Plutonic rocks prevail immensely over the recent eruptive rocks, just as the older sedimentary do over the recent tertiary or quaternary. Both orders appear to be generally intermingled and largely associated with semi-crystalline and metamorphic forms.

In a general way the composition of the soil of Africa is favourable enough to the varied requirements of humanity; its great want is water.

High mean elevation.

It is a striking fact that, notwithstanding the paucity of great mountain ranges in Africa as compared with Europe and Asia, the general mean elevation of the former is greater than in either of the latter. In the case of Africa it is from 1900 to 2000 feet, while that of Europe is only 1000 feet and Asia 1650 feet. This reveals to us the great characteristic feature of the surface of Africa, that of a high plateau, descending almost everywhere in terraces to the coast. A glance at the special map indicating height of land will show the prevailing contour of this African plateau. All round the coast is seen a strip varying in breadth, but generally comparatively narrow, of not more than 500 feet in height. But the great bulk of the Continent is a plateau of from 500 to 2000 feet, much nearer to the latter than the former. Indeed, the mass of the Continent south of the equator, exclusive of a considerable section of the Congo basin, is from 2000 to 5000 feet, with a broad belt including the great lakes pushing northwards far beyond the equator into the Upper Nile basin and Abyssinia. Scattered over this, we have seen, are patches which rise to over 6000 feet. The central portion of this, trending north-east from Damaraland to Abyssinia, and from 500 to 1000 miles wide, may be said to average 5000 feet in height. The northern half of the Continent, while retaining its plateau character, has a considerably lower general altitude, averaging 1500 feet, though much of it rises

to 2000 feet. In Africa, in short, the relief of the land, instead of being concentrated in one or two enormous mountain ranges, has been spread over the Continent with wonderful equality.

Temperature.

The practical importance of the plateau character of the surface of Africa will be apparent when the influence of altitude in modifying temperature is kept in view. The mean annual isotherm of 70° is almost coincident with the north coast of Africa, and just comes inside the south coast. The mean annual isotherm of 80° is in the north almost coincident with the Tropic of Cancer, and on the south enters at the Guinea Coast, but sweeps so abruptly south as to include the bulk of Africa south of the equator. These are enormous average temperatures to embrace a continent; no other land-mass has anything like them. Over a large area of the Continent the usual day temperatures are of course much higher, and were it not for the rapid nocturnal radiation, Central Africa would really, as the ancients believed, become uninhabitable on account of the heat. When it is remembered that as a general rule temperature decreases by 1° for every 300 feet of altitude, the great advantage of the plateau character of Africa, so far as the European is concerned, must be at once evident. When such altitudes are available as we find in Africa around the great lakes—Victoria, the two Alberts, Tanganyika, Nyassa, and the district between the last two, as also in the Cameroons and the Abyssinian highlands—with ordinary care and a fair constitution to start with, a lengthened residence and reasonable activity become

possible, and, if on the verge of the tropics, even colonisation may be practicable; though the last statement must be taken with caution. For, be it remembered, it is not the mere heat of the tropics that tells on the European constitution; there is the malarial atmosphere engendered in the low-lying regions, and even in the uplands in some places. More trying even than this, according to many reliable authorities, is the excessive variation of temperature between day and night. The difference between summer and winter temperature in some parts of Africa is very great; in the Central Sahara and in Bechuanaland it is as much as 36°, and in South-West Africa even 60°. Such a difference can be provided for. But when there is a sudden lowering of the temperature at sundown in a tropical or sub-tropical moisture-laden atmosphere it is apt to tell severely on the European constitution. This is one point that has yet to be tested in Mashonaland, which, though sub-tropical, is in some respects a country that promises well for European occupation.

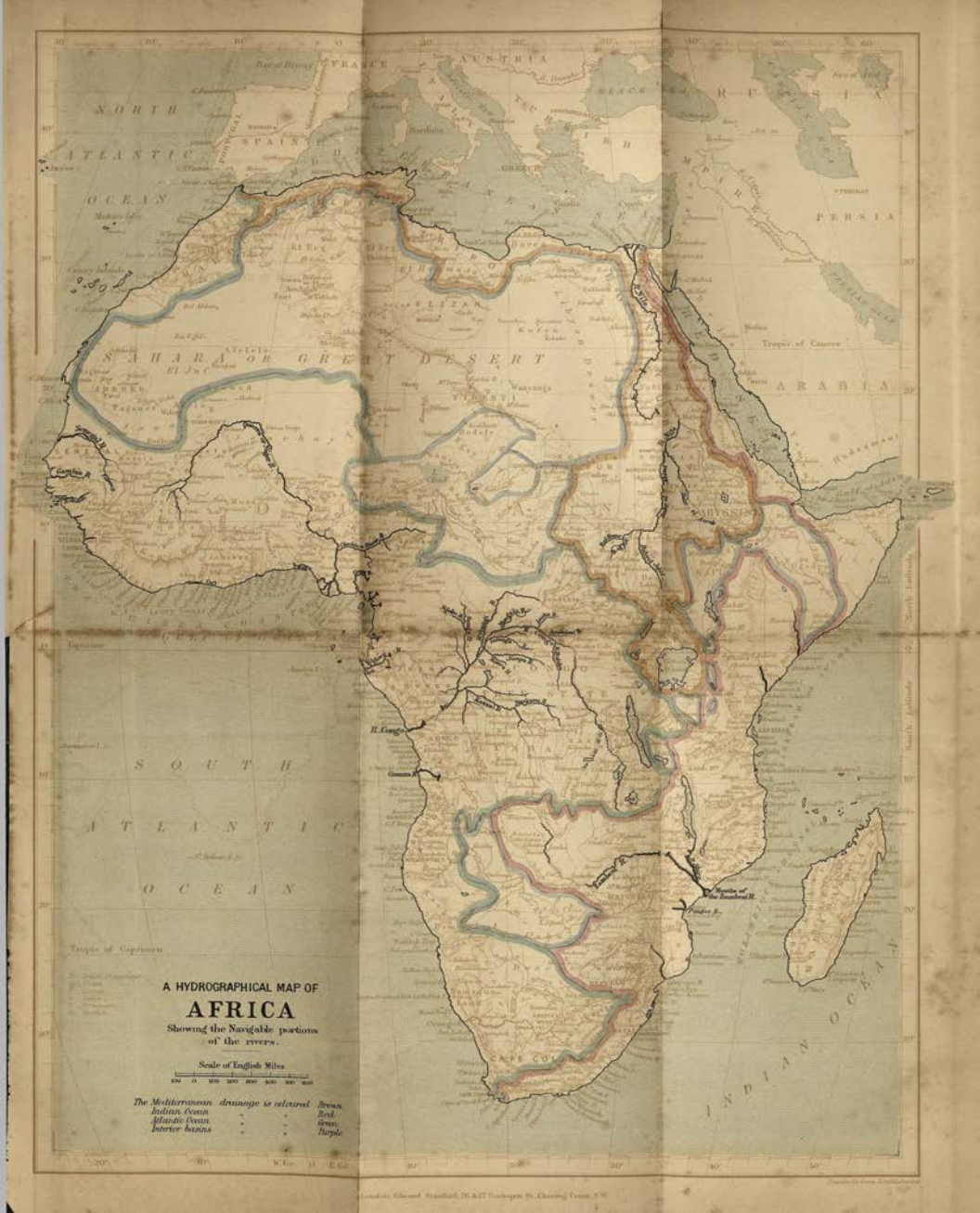
Obstruction to river-navigation.

These are a few of the advantages and disadvantages of the plateau character of Tropical Africa, so far as concerns the influence of the climate on the European constitution. It entails, however, still another obstacle to free commercial enterprise. The plateau, which prevails almost everywhere, slopes down in terraces more or less rapidly to the coast, and down these terraces the rivers from the interior must make their way, with the result that we find the courses of the Nile, the Niger, the Congo, the Zambesi, more or

less interrupted by cataracts. These are a serious obstacle to navigation. Fortunately on the Niger the break occurs far up the river, leaving a long, clear waterway; but on the Congo we meet with some 200 miles of unnavigable cataracts, beginning at about 150 miles from the sea, and so cutting off from direct access the 1000 miles of splendid waterway above, which leads into the heart of Africa. Had it not been for this we cannot doubt that the Congo would have been traced from below long before Stanley's brilliant achievement from above. At the same time, as has already been pointed out, these geographical disadvantages can be almost nullified by the construction of railways. No doubt both in Europe and America river-navigation is of importance, but it is insignificant compared with the importance of railway communication. In fact, the judicious introduction of railways would greatly enhance the value of the African waterways.

**Prevailing winds and rainfall.**

Prevailing winds have much to do with temperature, and still more perhaps with rainfall; and it is to be feared that here we touch upon one of the weakest of Africa's many weak points. On the east coast the prevailing winds are towards the Continent, bringing with them a fair supply of moisture; all round the Gulf of Guinea the ocean sends an ample tribute of moisture, while farther south the cold Benguela current will tend to diminish the supply. The north-east trades just skirt the Sahara coast, and do it little good, while the winds that cross the Mediterranean and Red Sea have already parted with most of their moisture to the Euro-Asiatic land-mass, and what little remains is


A HYDROGRAPHICAL MAP OF
AFRICA
Showing the Navigable portions of the rivers.
Scale of English Miles
The Mediterranean drainage is coloured Brown
Indian Ocean " " Red
Atlantic Ocean " " Green
Interior basins " " Purple
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
SAHARA OR GREAT DESERT
ARABIA
PERSIA
AUSTRIA
FRANCE
SPAIN
GREECE
RUSSIA
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
R. Congo
Cape Colony

levied by the coast-lands. What, then, are the results of these influences so far as the supply of moisture, the rainfall of the African Continent, is concerned? It should be remembered that we have precise and continued observations for very few places in Africa. From such meagre data as we have we find that the region of greatest rainfall is round the Niger mouths and south along the coast to the Ogové, with one or two patches on the coast to the south of the Gambia. There we may have over 100 inches annually. On the Lower Niger region, up by the Benué, and on a sweep from the Upper Benué down to the vicinity of the Congo mouth, and probably including some of the northern tributaries of the Congo, the rainfall is estimated to average from 50 to 100 inches annually. The same amount is found along a broad strip of the Upper Guinea Coast, and over an extensive area in the heart of the Continent, on the Middle and Upper Congo and its great feeders, and around the great lakes. There is also a patch on the Tana river region, to the north-east of Victoria Nyanza, and a strip on the east coast from Mozambique to the river Jub. But the great bulk of the centre of the Continent from the Niger and Benué on the north to the Zambesi on the south has about 50 inches, reaching on the Upper Congo and its feeders 100 inches. Fifty-inch patches are found on the coast of Algeria and Tunis, over a considerable area of Morocco and into Abyssinia. Over much of the western Mediterranean border, on the southern face of the Atlas, we have at least from 10 to 25 inches. A similar supply prevails over a

belt of varying breadth going east from the mouth of the Senegal along the Central Sudan States and on to the Abyssinian tributaries of the Nile. A still wider belt to the north of this receives from 5 to 10 inches, but it merges into the Sahara, where the annual average is less than 5 inches—too little to be of any avail for cultivation. To the south of the Zambesi the rainfall is about 50 inches on the east coast and on to the edge of the Mashonaland plateau. It gradually diminishes to 25 inches, and still farther as we get westwards. The western half of this region north of the Orange River has the minimum rainfall. On the coast of Cape Colony they have 50 inches and over, but this rapidly diminishes as we leave the coast. The north-east horn of Africa, including Somaliland, has from 10 to 25 inches, with the exception of an area from Lake Rudolf to beyond the Jub, where the rainfall is from 5 to 10 inches. Thus, then, except in the centre of the Continent, in Tropical Africa the rainfall is almost everywhere inadequate for industrial operations; so that where Europeans might settle, so far as temperature goes, the water-supply is defective. Even, however, in the central belt, especially in East Africa, there are considerable areas of desert met with, where the water-supply is almost nil.

**Lakes and rivers.**

Closely related to the supply of water from above is that on the surface of the Continent. One of the most characteristic features of Central Africa is its group of great lakes—Victoria Nyanza, Albert and Albert Edward Nyanzas, Tanganyika, Moero, Bangweolo, Nyassa—just on the eastern edge of the region where the rainfall may be from 50 to 100 inches. On

JANUARY TEMPERATURE.
JULY TEMPERATURE.
MEAN ANNUAL TEMPERATURE AND RAINFALL.
VEGETATION MAP

the northern edge of the 25 to 50 inch area we find Lake Chad, which is really not much more than an enormous swamp varying very greatly in area according to the season. South from the southern edge we find a corresponding swampy lake, Ngami, which may be all that remains of a much greater lake, into which, at no very remote period, the Zambesi may have discharged its waters. The only other lakes of any consequence in Africa are Lake Dembea among the Abyssinian mountains, and Lake Rudolf to the north-east of Victoria Nyanza, situated in a comparatively dry region, and forming the receptacle of an inland drainage basin. But the great mass of lacustrine waters is concentrated in the centre of the Continent.

It is not surprising, then, to find that the rivers of Africa, with one exception, draw their supplies from the centre of the Continent. The Nile drains the waters of the three Nyanzas, and one of its chief eastern feeders comes from the lake of Abyssinia. The Congo may be said to rise in Lake Bangweolo, while the Tanganyika sends its contribution to the river. Many tributaries come from the south, drawing their waters from that great sponge, as Livingstone called it, an enormous marshy region that may be said to form the water-parting between the Congo and Zambesi, whence the latter rises, as well as the Coanza, which makes its way to the west coast. While the Niger itself is fed from the rainy region of Western Africa, its great tributary, the Benué, comes from the central zone. These are the four great river-systems of Africa, and the Nile is the only one which, in any

part of its course, reaches beyond the tropics. The Senegal and the Gambia, though tropical, are insignificant; the Limpopo is also small, and is of doubtful utility for navigation, while the Orange is not much better than a huge torrent. Dry river-beds are found in many places outside the tropics, even in the Sahara. In this enormous desert we find Wadies of very great length, and along these are signs that at one time they may have been permanently flowing rivers. Even now, when the rain has been more than usually copious, they may contain water for a few days, and water can always be obtained by digging. On the other side of the Continent, again, in the Cape region and the countries around its borders, the dry river-beds may suddenly become destructive torrents. But, as a general rule, outside the tropical area, permanently flowing water is rare.

**Results of peculiar geography of Africa.**

The foregoing is an attempt to exhibit, with necessary brevity and generality, the leading data which may be said to go to constitute the surface geography of Africa. All that appears on that surface, or that may be got out of it by human exertion, may be said to be an outcome of the various factors with which we have been dealing. We have first the position of the Continent on the earth's surface, *i.e.* latitude; then we have the outline or contour of the coast, and its relations to the surrounding oceans; the contours or hypsometric characteristics of the surface; the distribution of the sun's heat, the prime influence of all; the direction of the prevailing winds, and the distribution and amount of the moisture which they bring; the

supply of surface water, or hydrography of the Continent. What, then, on the face of it, so to speak, do we find as the first outcome of these various influences?

Economical characteristics of tropical region.

To begin with, in the great central region, the region of fairly abundant rainfall and of generally ample surface water-supply, we find on the whole spontaneous tropical exuberance of vegetation, and plentiful animal life. Even here, especially in East Africa, there are, however, great patches of poor scrub-land, or steppe country, little better than desert. But the main feature is rich grass-land covered with trees, sometimes in clumps, sometimes condensed into forests of no great extent, very generally of an open park-like character. In the region of most abundant rainfall, around the coasts of the Gulf of Guinea, in patches along the Benué, on the Upper Congo and its tributaries, and generally wherever we find the rainfall most abundant, we have genuine tropical forests, though nothing, it would seem, to compare in continuous extent with the great forest region of South America. Here, then, in the great central belt, from 10° north to 20° south, the region of true tropical heat and tropical rainfall, we have nature spontaneously exuberant. Outside this region there are few districts of which the same can be said; it mainly depends on the rainfall. South of the central and eastern Zambesi, except the low-lying Manica country, the district where there is a fairly abundant extra-tropical rainfall, including Mashonaland, Matabeleland, parts of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and east and south Cape Colony, we find

grass-lands with trees, though not very evenly distributed, and liable to be affected by capricious rainfall. Similar patches are found in Abyssinia, along the valley of the Nile, and along the slopes of the Atlas and the Western Mediterranean coast-lands.

North and South Africa.

Between the north of the central belt and the Mediterranean coast, and also over most of the north-east horn of Africa, is found an area either absolutely desert, or the next stage to it—poor steppe, scrub, or other land of a like nature. This area covers something like 4,000,000 square miles—one-third of the Continent. Of this about one-half is pure desert, the veritable sandy Sahara. The true Sahara is not one compact area. On its south, with a varying breadth, we have the so-called steppe or scrub-land, much of which is really fairly good grass-land at certain seasons of the year, with vegetation of a shrubby or scrubby character. This broadens out to the north of the Senegal, and extends in a wide strip along the west coast region. It pushes its way right into the centre of the Sahara, and broadens out into the Ahaggar highlands. Another wedge runs north from Darfur into the Tibesti country, while the same characteristics prevail over most of the north-east horn of Africa. On the other side of Africa we find a strip of true desert along the west coast from the Coanza to the Orange River. This spreads out on the south of the Zambesi. Over about two-thirds of South Africa, and extending well to the south of the Orange River, we have the scrub or steppe characteristics known in the Cape region as the Karroo.

Thus, then, in Africa we have at least 2,000,000 square miles of true desert, and probably about a similar area of land at a stage above the desert, varying from the poorest scrub to land that may at some time of the year yield a fair amount of grass with only the natural moisture that may fall to its share. This, of course, is a general statement, for it is wholly impossible to draw any hard-and-fast line between absolutely good and absolutely bad land ; nor is there any mathematical line between tropical and non-tropical regions. We find oases of verdure in the most desert regions, and desert areas surrounded by exuberant vegetation. If we compare the map showing distribution of surface with that showing distribution of rainfall, we cannot but be struck with the very close relations that exist between the two factors. Indeed, this factor of rainfall influences other factors in a remarkable way, not only in Africa, but all over the world. In South Australia every inch of rain above a certain quantity may, it has been calculated, be worth hundreds of thousands of pounds to the wheat-farmer.

Extent of desert land.

Indirectly also, no doubt, rainfall influences the distribution of animals ; for graminivorous animals go where they find the most abundant food, and the carnivores follow in their train. The distribution of the larger carnivores and of venomous animals is no doubt of some practical importance, for they constitute a certain amount of danger to the opening up of the Continent by Europeans ; but it is an element which may for practical purposes be neglected. Indeed, the existence of the larger animals, whatever order they

Distribution of animals.

belong to, may actually promote the opening up of the Continent, seeing that they attract the sportsman, who may act as pioneer for the trader and the missionary. But from the commercial point of view the most important of African animals is no doubt the elephant, which is, in a general way, found from the edge of the northern desert region to below the Zambesi. From the latter region it is rapidly retiring northwards. It used to be found quite near the south coast, but in the Cape Colony proper it is now only found in a preserve. It is now rarely found near any coast, and there can be little doubt that, unless its destruction is placed under stringent regulation, it will in no long time be found only in the most inaccessible regions. It is doubtful if even the larger wild animals in Africa will ever become extinct. The only chance of accomplishing such an end would be for civilisation to cover the whole Continent. But it will take a long time for Africa to reach even the stage of India, and yet, in that part of the British Empire, wild animals are still plentiful enough. As might be expected, the elephant is found to be most abundant in the central region of plentiful rainfall and exuberant vegetation; and, in reckoning up the commercial assets of Africa, it must be taken into account.

**Minerals.** Much more important for the development of Africa than the distribution of animal life on its surface is the extent to which minerals are found beneath it. Until the geology of the Continent is more completely worked out than it is at present, we can only speak very partially on the subject. That gold is found in

Africa has been known from remote times; that the gold mines of Mashonaland and Manica, of which so much has recently been heard, were worked long before the Portuguese touched its shores, we may be sure, the massive ruins found scattered over that region are evidence enough of the fact. That gold exists in great abundance not only in that region but over much of the area south of the Zambesi, in the west as in the east, there can be little doubt. North of the Zambesi, in the Lake Nyassa region, it is also found. The Gold Coast deserves its name; unfortunately, the climate is a great obstacle to the working of the mines. Inland from the Red Sea, on the east of Nubia and down by Harrar, it is also found, and was probably worked there in the old Egyptian times. Silver is also found there, and both gold and silver in Abyssinia. Gold has been worked in Senegambia, and silver in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. In some of the last-mentioned places these precious metals may not be abundant, still it may pay to work them. So far, then, the most coveted of all metals seem to exist in the greatest abundance on the south of the Zambesi, just in the region where an active white population is most wanted.

Still farther south, in Natal, the Transvaal, and the Cape, we have reason to believe there is a fair supply of coal, which probably also exists. But so far Africa can hardly be said to boast of its coal supply. Yet iron, and that of a very fine quality, is fairly abundant in several regions, and has been long worked by the natives. In the Transvaal, on the west

of Lake Nyassa, to the west of the Upper Zambesi, in Tibesti, in Abyssinia and Darfur, in the Victoria Nyanza region, and along the shores of Tunis, Algeria and Morocco, this useful metal is found in remarkable quantities. Copper also is found in the Transvaal, and in great abundance on the south of the Orange River, in Damaraland, and in Katanga, west of Lake Bangweolo. It is believed also to exist in quantity in the Congo region, in Algeria, Morocco, and possibly in Darfur. Nor must we overlook the diamonds of Kimberley. But as yet we know too little of Africa to be able to say with any confidence what are its mineral riches. And when they are found, their mercantile value will depend upon their accessibility.

Communications.

This suggests another important factor which must be taken into account in estimating the value to humanity of this peculiar continent, and that is its accessibility. We have already seen that there are no ocean highways into the heart of the Continent; its coast-line is nearly as monotonously regular as a circle. Natural harbours are few and far between. Still, that is a difficulty which engineering science can overcome, if the interior itself were easily accessible. But we have seen that the waterways, which look so magnificent on the map, and which lead into the heart of the Continent, are deceptive in their appearance. We have seen that the four great rivers of Africa, in making their way down from the plateau to the coast, are all more or less broken by cataracts. The cataracts of the Nile are not so bad that they may not be overcome, and as a waterway it is fairly useful, and might be more so if the

countries to which it gives access were under moderately good government. However, the railway that runs along its side for many miles is a much more important trade-route than the river itself. Fortunately the Niger presents some hundreds of miles of fairly clear waterway, though its mouths are troublesome, and shallows and sandbanks have to be avoided. Its great tributary, the Benué, is navigable by small steamers for hundreds of miles, at least in the wet season; and, as it goes almost direct east, it leads into the heart of the Continent. These two rivers run through one of the richest regions of Tropical Africa. The Congo, we have seen, after some 150 miles of splendid waterway, suited for vessels of considerable size, is barred by 200 miles of rapids, above which there is a clear 1000 miles of navigable river; while some of its great tributaries, north and south, add hundreds of miles of fair routes. The railway, now being constructed past the rapids, will, if ever it is completed, render this one of the finest trade-routes in Central Africa. As for the Zambesi, if once its fickle mouths are passed, steamers of moderate size may go up as far as the Kebrabasa rapids (only 200 miles), though shoals must be looked out for; above that point it is only adapted for canoes. The Shiré tributary, which leads into Lake Nyassa, though also interrupted by rapids, is navigable for small steamers. Thus all these apparently great rivers have defects more or less serious, decreasing their value as highways to the interior. The Niger is the freest, and, with suitable roads when needed, will suffice for the trade of the region for a long time. The same

may be said of the Congo if once the railway were made. What is more doubtful is whether the traffic over the line will for a long time be sufficient to make the railway pay.

Modes of conveyance.

Except in those parts where Europeans have been settled for some time—that is, on the north and south borders—there are no roads in Africa worthy of the name—none on which any large traffic could be conducted. Large areas, it is true, in the centre of the Continent are so level that even wheeled vehicles could be run over the land; but that also would not amount to much in the way of commerce. Africa is, however, covered with a network of roads of a kind—native paths leading from village to village, formed by the naked feet of many generations of villagers, but only broad enough to admit of single file. Beasts of burden are of course scarcely possible on such tracks, and as a matter of fact, over the great part of Africa the native himself is the only beast of burden; under such conditions no serious commerce is possible. In North Africa, all over the desert, in Egypt, and in the Sudan States, we, of course, find the camel, by whose aid alone has it been possible to create highways across the desert. In Somaliland there is a fine breed of donkeys. In the Sudan States the horse has been introduced, but mainly for riding purposes. Where Europeans are largely settled, no doubt modern means of locomotion are found, but the state of things described is rather of Africa in what we may call its natural condition, before the modern European invasion began. It seems strange that the natives have never attempted to utilise the

African elephant as the Indian has done its Asiatic congener. There is some evidence that in the Roman times the elephant was used for fighting and carrying purposes, but his utilisation never seems to have become general on the Continent. There is a prevalent opinion that the African elephant never can be subdued to the uses of humanity; but no serious experiments have ever been made. There is some reason to hope that, now that Europe has taken the Continent in hand, something will be done to discover whether this native force cannot really be utilised. But in time, no doubt, every region likely to yield results to commerce will be tapped by railways. To the south of the Zambesi a network is being rapidly constructed. The same may be said of Algeria and Tunis. In both the British and German spheres in East Africa there are indications that in no long time the interior will be accessible partly by railway and partly by roads.

**The natives.**

In dealing with the geography of Africa, without doubt the most important factor to be met with on the surface of the Continent is the native himself, both from the point of view of science and of the economical development of the Continent. It is quite impossible to deal here with the ethnology of Africa, vastly interesting as it is. An examination of the language-map will show the great divisions from that point of view, though language is not always a safe guide to ethnical affinities. Still, on the whole, in Africa it seems to present us with a key to the great divisions of its population. To the superficial observer all Africans seem at first very much alike; in the same way, no

doubt, to the African all Europeans, all whites indeed, have a family resemblance. Colour has much to do with this. But while in Africa, as among the American Indians, and as among a large part of the population of Central Asia, there is a general continental type, there is in reality great variety, from the light-brown, regular-featured Berber in the north to the poor, ugly Hottentot in the south. In a general way the northern and north-eastern part of the Continent is given up mostly to people of Semitic and Hamitic stocks. As we approach the Central Sudan this merges into the true Negro type, which prevails over the whole of the Niger basin down through Senegambia and along the Gold Coast, east-south-east to the region around the Victoria Nyanza, throwing a broad wedge northward into the Tibbu country of Sahara. Just where the Continent begins to narrow, and we touch upon the Congo basin, we meet with what is known as the Bantu-speaking stock, with its various subdivisions, of which the Zulu may be taken as the type. Scattered among both Negroes and Bantus are found remnants of various other types. Round about the great lakes the ruling people are really Hamitic. In many places over the centre of Africa pigmy tribes are met with, remains probably of an aboriginal race who may have had the Continent to themselves long before Hamites, Negroes, and Bantus invaded it from Asia, and to whom the Bush-men may be allied. The Hottentots also seem to be a very early people, quite unlike any other African race. The Fulah people, a superior race who prevail

in the Central and Western Sudan, differ in many respects from other African races. These are the main distinctions of race-types in Africa so far as linguistic characteristics go. But from the point of view of the exploration of Africa, and the development of its resources by Europeans, the important question with regard to the natives is—Will they be a help or a hindrance? On other continents, in North America, in Australia, the question has been solved by practically getting rid of the natives altogether. In Africa we cannot do that, any more than we can do it in India, even if we conceived it to be our interest to do so. However it may be in the very remote future, we cannot at present do much in Central Africa without the help of the natives. The natives of Africa, except in the more intensely Moslemised parts in the north, can never have been said to be any hindrance to exploration. They are themselves in many parts very keen traders. Nearly the whole of North Africa (except Abyssinia) is Mohammedan, and that tells in two ways. It certainly raises the native in the scale of civilisation; at the same time it is apt to create a fanatical aversion to European intercourse. That has been the great obstacle in the Central Sudan, in Sokoto, Kanem, Wadai, and neighbouring states which are yet practically independent. France has overcome it in Tunis and Algeria; it is dormant in Egypt; in the old Egyptian Sudan it is rampant among the Mahdiists and Senoussites; in Morocco it is still a barrier to free intercourse. The people of North Africa, Moslem or other, are fairly industrious,

and if once their enmity were overcome they might co-operate very effectively with Europeans.

Labour supply.

For the future development of Africa, it is, however, with the Negroes and Bantus we shall have mainly to reckon. Without labour we cannot develop the Continent, and if we cannot get the native to work, what is to become of Africa? We are often told that the Negro is a lazy being, who never will be trained to habits of industry. But as a universal statement facts belie that assertion. When he can pick up his living with a minimum of exertion, he will do so; that is human nature. But in South Africa, in the Cape, the Transvaal, Natal, West Africa, and elsewhere, he does work, and that often with great steadiness and regularity. On some of the plantations of the Germans inland from Zanzibar, before the recent troubles, the people came quite willingly to work, induced to do so by the wages offered. At the same time, it must be admitted that voluntary hard work is not congenial to a people who, for ages, have been accustomed to do no more than they were forced to do. It should be quite possible, by judicious treatment, to lead the natives on to industrious habits; but we must not expect, in this and other matters, to force them in a generation or two up to a stage which it has taken us 2000 years to reach. Meantime, in Cape Colony and Natal it has been found necessary to introduce labour from India and the Malay Archipelago.

Density of population.

There are many questions suggested by the consideration of this subject of the natives of Africa into which we cannot here enter. With the intervention of European powers, the cessation of native wars, and the

suppression of slave-raiding, the native population is bound to increase. According to the estimate of one of the most competent authorities, Mr. Ravenstein, the total population of Africa does not exceed 130,000,000, *i.e.* only about 10 to a square mile, though other authorities estimate it at 200,000,000. But the Continent, comparatively poor as it is, is capable of sustaining a much larger population. A glance at the map showing density of population will show how closely related this is to the rainfall. Population is densest of all in the Niger region where the rainfall is greatest. Here we find, in places, over 70 to a square mile; in other places it ranges between that figure and 35. A similar density is found round the north-west of the Victoria Nyanza, in the Lower Nile Valley, on the south coast of Cape Colony, and the western shores of the Mediterranean. In Abyssinia, between the Ogové and Congo, in the Manyuema country, on the Upper Nile, and the northern slopes of the Atlas, and in one or two other spots, it is from 15 to 56. But over a large part of Central Africa, including most of the Congo basin, the Upper Nile, Senegambia, and the Upper Niger, it is only from 8 to 15 per square mile. In East and South Africa, Portuguese West Africa, the region between Lake Chad and the Upper Nile, and Lake Chad and the Niger, and much of the Red Sea coast, the density is only from 5 to 8. A band on the south of the Sahara, another band including Somaliland and running to the south of Victoria Nyanza, Damaraland, and Namaqualand, the bulk of the Atlas and the coast of Tripoli, only reach from 1 to 5; while

the Sahara and the Bechuanaland region—something like one-fourth of the Continent—have less than one person to the square mile.

If the European occupation and exploitation of the Continent continues, as it is almost bound to do, something must be done with and for the natives. It is to be feared that, so far, Christian Missions have not had the effect hoped for. But better methods are being introduced. The great thing is to remember that these poor natives have a long leeway to make up; that violent and sudden interference with old-established domestic institutions will do no good; that tact and firmness and just treatment will accomplish a great deal; and that a negro cannot by any amount of civilising influences be evolved into a European.

**Commercial value of Central Africa.**

What, then, is the practical result of our inquiry, with special reference to the economical value of Africa? Within what limits is it likely to be of utility, not only to the sparse indigenous population, but to humanity at large, and to Europe in particular? The obstacles which have hitherto kept it behind all the other continents will always have more or less weight; but they are obstacles which are by no means invincible. Let us again first take the central zone, Tropical Africa, two-thirds of the Continent, which has been the chief field of the recent scramble. Most of the natural riches of the Continent are concentrated in this region. Even in gold and silver, in copper and in iron, it seems to have fairly abundant stores. The animal product, ivory, comes mainly from this region. Here we meet with the great forests and a wealth of

vegetation of all kinds, yielding such natural products as rubber, coconut and palm oils, ground-nuts, valuable seeds of various kinds, fibres, gums, and many other natural products of commercial value. We know from actual experiments that much of this area is well adapted to such cultivable products as rice and maize, tobacco and coffee, indigo and cotton. Bananas and other tropical and sub-tropical fruits grow in abundance, or could be cultivated to any extent. In many districts cattle are reared in enormous numbers, and under skilled direction could be increased and improved in quality, both for food purposes and for their hides. Goats are common, and in the Central Sudan sheep are reared. About the fertility of the soil, over at least one-half of the area, there can be no doubt. Thus it is evident that if we simply confined ourselves to the natural products of Central Africa, and utilised them judiciously, so as not to exhaust them, a fair commerce could be created. Still the mere natural animal and vegetable products of a tropical country could never yield a trade of great dimensions; the demand is too limited, and the supply abundant. The common food products, the common textiles—corn of all kinds, cotton, wool, hemp,—these with the useful minerals form the vast bulk of commerce of our own and every other country. 'At present it is estimated that the total exports of the whole of Central Africa by the east and west coasts do not amount to more than £20,000,000 sterling annually. Even this is considered by some authorities an excessive estimate; yet it is a great deal less than the export trade of Canada alone.

If we could add to this the cultivation, on a large scale, of some of the useful products referred to above, and if these could compete favourably with similar products from other parts of the world, the commercial value of Africa would be greatly increased. Moreover, as the population increased, as colonisation advanced and wants multiplied, the native market itself would become of increasing importance.

How are its resources to be developed?

What, then, is wanted to develop the natural resources of Africa, and utilise the capabilities of its soil? First of all, we must have easy and cheap means of communication if a great export and import trade is to be developed. There may be the finest cattle, rice, corn, tobacco, tea, coffee, in the world, around Tanganyika, Albert Nyanza, Victoria Nyanza, Nyassa; but if the produce can only be brought to the coast on men's or even elephants' backs, it would not have a chance of success. Of course, if the river-navigation were improved, if the impassable sections of the Congo and the Niger, the Nile and the Zambesi, were bridged by railways, it would greatly improve the prospects of success. Still more, if there were direct communication by rail from the heart of the Continent. But this is a prospect of the distant future. In that future the population of the world, at its present rate, will have vastly increased, and increased supplies of the common necessaries of life will be required. Meantime, in addition to making the best of the native products, we can do little more than experiment, and happily experiments are being made in various quarters. But experiments should be made all over. We want to know what can be made

of the vast plateau region round the great lakes, and of the low countries which they dominate. In the Lake Nyassa region we may soon have some positive data to go upon as a result of the enterprise to be carried out under Her Majesty's Commissioner, Mr. Johnston. Indeed, the rivalry among the so-called European spheres in Africa is so great, that in a very few years we must have a much more precise idea than we have now of what can be made of Central Africa. At present it is not possible to go beyond the expression of a belief that it has great capabilities.

Can the natives be utilised?

It is here, however, that the importance of the consideration already discussed becomes apparent; if the way were quite clear, otherwise, if means of communication were all that could be wished, through what human agency is the work to be carried on? So far as our present knowledge goes, the native is absolutely indispensable to the development of Tropical Africa. Our somewhat scanty experience tends to prove that Europeans, even southern Europeans, could not do the hard daily work that is required—in the forest, in the field, in plantations, in mines—to render Central Africa of commercial value. It is not only the malaria that constantly broods over the coast and the low-lying river-courses, and is set at liberty to poison the atmosphere when the rotting soil is stirred; the mere heat of the tropics seems to incapacitate Europeans for work of this kind. If, then, the native cannot be utilised in this direction, labour must be introduced from regions, the natives of which could be readily acclimatised. But experience proves, as has been said,

that there is no reason whatever to despair of the African native; that in time he may take to fairly regular habits of industry.

The rôle of the white man.

But what about the white man himself? Apart altogether from the question of hard manual daily labour, can he settle in Central Africa in any great numbers? The prevailing belief on the subject has been already referred to; but even after obtaining all the information possible from men who have had experience in various parts of Africa, the data which we possess on the subject are extremely scanty. We find on the Nyassa-Tanganyika plateau missionaries and traders living with their wives and children; but the experiment has not been tried long enough to admit of any conclusion being drawn. Emin Pasha lived in the Equatorial Province for twelve years, so did Mackay, the missionary, in Uganda; and there are other isolated instances of the same kind. But what is wanted is a thorough investigation of the whole subject of European residence in tropical countries, based on existing data, and on data to be collected in the future from Central Africa. We know absolutely that over nearly the whole of the west coast of Tropical Africa a residence of only two years is risky, and it is so too over much of the east coast. With regard to the higher lands in the centre, the general belief is that a healthy and vigorous human race, say a race of our own type, could not be reared for many successive generations even on the high plateaux of Central Africa. The experiment with South Europeans—Italians, Greeks, Spanish, Maltese, Portuguese—has never been tried

Colonisation.

on sufficiently great a scale to admit of safe conclusions being drawn. Meantime the problem is not of very practical moment. It would be madness to encourage colonisation in the true sense of the term in Central Africa at present. If the Continent is to be developed, European men must go and fix themselves at various favourable stations over the centre, but they must go as unattached pioneers. In such a capacity no young man with a sound constitution to start with need hesitate to go.

Now, briefly, as to the north and the south of the Continent. The Sahara we need not discuss. There is plenty of water underneath its inhospitable sands. On the borders of Algeria that water is being tapped with great success, and hundreds of thousands of date-trees are yielding profitable results; but the demand for dates is not such as to encourage their cultivation over 2,000,000 square miles. Under French domination, especially if railways are constructed across the desert, no doubt oases will be created at intervals, but the Sahara is likely to remain much as it is until a very remote future. The grass-lands which fringe its southern border and go on to the fertile Central Sudan might no doubt be turned to good account for cattle and sheep; and in time will be. With regard to the countries along the Mediterranean border, certainly much of the Tripoli coast region is not much better than desert; but Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, along the coast-lands, and the lower slopes of the Atlas and the valleys among the mountains, notwithstanding the occasional lack of rainfall, are all of distinct value, both

North Africa.

from the point of view of commerce and colonisation. With regard to European colonisation, a communication on the subject, received from Sir Lambert Playfair, our representative in Algeria, may be quoted ; it may be held as applying to all the Mediterranean countries :—

White colonisation.

"I think it would be almost impossible for any Anglo-Saxons to settle here as actual labourers. They could work in agricultural pursuits during the winter months as well as, or better than, in England, but they would never stand the heat of summer, except perhaps in a few very favoured localities. As employers of labour, of course, the case is different, and any one could live and prosper here. Marshal MacMahon made the experiment ; he got out a colony of Irish, both men, women, and children ; they were a complete failure, many died, and the remainder had to be sent home very soon. They suffered from fever, sunstroke, and general demoralisation. With regard to the Latin races it is quite different ; but for them colonisation in this country would be at a standstill. The Italians in the east and the Spaniards in the west are the most useful classes of the population. With them may be classed Maltese and natives of the south of France. Other Mediterranean nations are not represented here. It is quite wonderful to see how the Spanish Alfa-gatherers—men, women, and children—support the alternations of great cold and intense heat on the high plateaux, with hardly any shelter ; an English labourer working there in summer would be dead in a week. As a general rule, you may safely say that natives of northern Europe cannot support the climate of North

Africa as actual labourers, and only moderately well as employers of labour."

This, of course, applies with very much greater force to Central Africa.

Still, even in North Africa, the natives themselves, the Arab and Jew population, can never be dispensed with, and must co-operate with the Europeans in developing the countries. Iron abounds, silver is found, cereals, vines, tobacco, olives, and other products, are extensively grown, and no doubt there is ample room for industrial development in all these countries, including Morocco. There is no reason why Greeks and other South Europeans could not settle with their families in Egypt; but, so far as actual work goes, Egypt is for the Egyptians. Along the region watered by the Nile there is no doubt that Egypt is capable of much greater development than she has yet attained. It will afford some idea of the comparative value of North Africa, that the total value of the trade of the countries mentioned, insignificant as their area is compared with Central Africa, amounts to about £45,000,000 sterling annually, one half of which is for exports.

South Africa, its value.

With regard to South Africa—that is to say, Africa south of the Zambesi. Here we find that the western half, and the south away from the coast, has but a scanty rainfall. The natural vegetable products are of but poor account; even ivory is now obtained in comparatively insignificant quantity. But to balance this it is the richest region in all Africa for minerals. It promises to be one of the most productive gold

regions—if not absolutely the most productive—in the world. It is through its gold, just so much capital, as it were, stored up in the ground, that Australia has been able to advance so rapidly in all directions. So we may hope it will be in South Africa. Not only will it yield capital to develop what we may call the permanent resources of the region, but it will attract a large and vigorous white population. The diamonds of South Africa are well known, and its coal, its iron, its copper, are natural riches of high importance. Notwithstanding the meagreness of its rainfall, the southern half of the region has proved a fine field for sheep and cattle rearing, not to mention ostrich-farming. The inhabitants have already found out methods of storing the rain which does fall, and no doubt they will find means of tapping the underground supply. The country may grow all the corn it requires for its own wants, though it may never have much to spare for export. It is a splendid vine region, and both tea and sugar can be grown successfully in some parts. In other parts well to the north, where the water-supply is abundant, the general altitude is so high that it is hoped that in time it may become the home of hundreds of thousands of people of British origin. Even in the sub-tropical parts, away from the low-lying regions and the river-beds, Europeans seem to prosper. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that South Africa already sustains a white population of over 500,000, and that it has been colonised by generations of Europeans, who thrive as well as they do at home. While the native cannot, of course, be compared to the English mechanic

or peasant or navvy, he still works well enough in his own way, while thousands of Malays and Indian coolies have been imported. South Africa, in short, is the one region in which we can say with confidence that European colonisation, in the fullest sense of the term, is possible. It does an annual trade amounting to £35,000,000 sterling—one half exports.

# CHAPTER XXIII

## CONCLUSION

Africa before and after the scramble—France's share—Germany—Portugal—Italy—Spain—Congo Free State—Great Britain—Tropical Africa the great problem—Limits to European colonisation—Can the native African be trained to work?—Slave-raiding and the Brussels Act—Value of African commerce—Europe's duty to the natives—What remains to be scrambled for—Egypt and British supremacy—England's duty.

**Africa before and after the scramble.**

LET us briefly inquire what has been the result of the scramble of the last eight years; what share has fallen to the lot of each of the Powers engaged in the game?

In the beginning of 1884, of the 11,500,000 square miles which make up Africa, the total area appropriated by the European powers and the Boer Republics probably did not exceed 2,500,000 square miles; at this moment there are barely 2,000,000 out of the 11,500,000 remaining to be scrambled for. It is over 3000 years since Phœnicia began to nibble at the Continent; this nibbling process went on until 1884. In the last eight years there has been a mad rush, and nearly the whole of the Continent has been gobbled up. Let us see, then, how matters now stand; in Appendix I. will be found the statistical results in tabular form.

France has emerged from the scramble with a bigger slice of Africa than any other Power. Her domain includes and extends from Algeria and Tunis down to the Guinea Coast. It embraces the bulk of the Sahara, all the country watered by the Senegal, and most of that watered by the Upper Niger. It includes the great bend of the Niger and the famous city of Timbuktu; a line from the Niger to Lake Chad separates part of French Africa from the territories of the British Niger Company. With the exception of Liberia, our own little patches of colonies on the West Coast, and German Togoland, France claims most of the country formerly vaguely known as Guinea. Farther south she has appropriated a great block of land between the Cameroons and the Congo. On the other side she has taken Madagascar under her wing, while outside the entrance to the Red Sea she has a big patch round the port of Obock. Altogether the area claimed by France in Africa verges close on 3,000,000 square miles. But bearing in mind what has been said as to the geographical characteristics of Africa, let us see what is the value of this enormous African empire from the point of view of commerce and colonisation. Including the French Sahara, those portions of Algeria and Tunis bordering on and really forming part of the desert, and a considerable area of the French Sudan and Senegambia, some 2,000,000 square miles of French Africa is desert, or just the stage beyond desert. It is not useless; experiment has proved that probably below the whole desert area there is an ample supply

France's share.

of water which has only to be tapped and distributed over the surface to turn the desert into a garden. But this involves great outlay, and people are not willing to sink their money in these desert wells so long as better land is to be had. But the Sahara is by no means the hopeless place it used to be thought; and already in the south of Algeria many flourishing date plantations have been reared by means of the water from below the surface. Of course much of Algeria itself, and even Tunis, is fine agricultural country, and the progress made under French domination has been great. There are also profitable stores of minerals. As for colonisation, white people from the south of Europe, especially Maltese, may settle in Algeria and even work day after day. Natives of Central and Northern Europe are not likely to find continual labour possible under such a climate. They might live there and superintend the work of the natives, but to work day after day, all the year round, under a sub-tropical sun would lead to disaster. Outside of Algeria nearly the whole of the remainder of French Africa lies within the Tropics. What that means, so far as Europeans are concerned, has been briefly indicated already, and may be referred to briefly again. Meantime, let us see how other Powers have fared.

**Germany.** Germany, who may be said to have begun the scramble, has only a very small fragment of her African domain outside the Tropics,—Namaqualand—and much of that is desert. Togoland, on the Gold Coast, has all the characteristics of West Africa. The Cameroons is in the heart of the Tropics, but possesses a

magnificent sanatorium in the lofty Cameroons Mountains. Damaraland and Namaqualand probably contain gold and certainly copper, and the herbage, though comparatively scanty, covers an area large enough to encourage cattle-rearing on a scale likely to be profitable; but it is difficult to see how much can be made of the country for a long time to come. On the other side of Africa, Germany has acquired a great block—close on 400,000 square miles, double the area of all Germany—purely tropical in climate, with great areas of desert or poor steppe country, scantily watered, and demoralised by slave-raiding. Still this is the most hopeful part of German Africa. The coast is peopled with industrious traders; several trade-routes come down from the interior; experiments on a considerable scale have proved that plantations of tropical products are possible; and both cattle and sheep can be successfully reared on certain areas.

Portugal has still left to her about 900,000 square miles in Africa, all of it more or less tropical, but all of it well watered, and much of it capable of industrial development. Even rejuvenated Italy joined in the scramble, and has come off, nominally at least, with 600,000 square miles as her share of the spoil. This includes a long stretch of the Red Sea coast from the Straits of Babelmandeb northwards, and a precarious hold over Abyssinia, part of the Galla country, and Somaliland—all of it within the Tropics. True, Abyssinia is the most mountainous country in Africa, possessing great variety of climate, and could, under

Portugal.

Italy.

intelligent guidance, be put to many industrial uses. But it remains to be seen whether Italy's suzerainty will ever be more than nominal.

Spain. Spain has a small block of 250,000 square miles of sand on the coast of the Western Sahara; besides Fernando Po, and a patch or two on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea. In the heart of the Continent the

Congo Free State. Congo Free State, an appanage of the King of the Belgians, covers almost 900,000 square miles. It is almost divided by the equator, is richly watered and timbered, and capable of producing every tropical product. At present commercial enterprise is confined to the collection of the natural products.

Great Britain. So far as area goes, Great Britain stands next to France, with 2,500,000 square miles; and if one dared to include Egypt, the British sphere would even exceed that of her rival. Of the total area, over 2,000,000 square miles lie within the Tropics. Our West African colonies, and the extensive regions covered by the sphere of the Royal Niger Company, are unmitigatedly tropical. British East Africa, over 1,000,000 square miles, is entirely within the Tropics, but with much variety of surface and climate. In the high plateau countries around Lake Victoria, and Lakes Albert and Albert Edward, it would at least be interesting to try cautious experiments as to the possibility of European settlement when a railway will make these regions easily and rapidly accessible. South of the equator, of the vast region included in the Cape Colony, Natal, Zululand, Bechuanaland, Zambesia, and Nyassaland, nearly 1,000,000 square miles, 600,000

square miles are also within the Tropics. But so far as the possibility of colonisation by English people and the inhabitants of Northern and Central Europe goes, we have undoubtedly, by a long way, the advantage over any other Power. Although the Zambesi is well within the Tropics, it may be taken as in a general way the dividing line between Central Africa and South Africa. So far as experience has gone, the whole of Cape Colony and Natal, and neighbouring lands, including the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which willingly or unwillingly are under British influence, are colonisable by Europeans of any country ;—that is to say, Europeans cannot only settle there, but they can make it their home and perpetuate their kind, and that is the real test of colonisation. When we get beyond that, it is not safe to settle or live long in the low-lying grounds ; but in the plateaux, in the highlands of Mashonaland for example, there seems every reason to believe that colonisation in the true sense of the term is perfectly possible. The whole region, at least, is amply favourable to the most strenuous British enterprise, and promises in the future to become the chief sphere of direct European activity in Africa. The region varies much in industrial value ; there are great areas over which the rainfall is so scanty that agriculture is scarcely possible ; but at least South Africa should supply its own wants in this respect, while to sheep and cattle rearing there seems to be no limit. Of the gold of South Africa we have heard much. There is plenty there, and gold always gives a new country a great pull to start with. ' But coal and iron and copper are also

abundant. Everything seems to indicate that a great future is in store for British South Africa.

As to the large British area lying to the north of the Zambesi, between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, there is no getting out of the fact that it is tropical, and that while it has some magnificent lofty plateaux and highlands, there is no reason to believe that it is, as a whole, exempt from the laws which govern other purely tropical countries so far as European residence is concerned. But according to latest reports, by so competent and trustworthy an authority as Mr. Joseph Thomson, these plateaux are admirably adapted to plantations, and if colonisation in the true sense is not possible, the region, as a whole, is one of the healthiest in Africa. At the risk of repetition, let us briefly resume some of the conclusions reached with regard to the Central area.

**Tropical Africa the great problem.**

It is tropical Africa, then, and that means the bulk of the Continent, which forms the great problem of the future to be faced by those European nations which have taken the destinies of Africa upon their shoulders; and what is true of that applies more or less even to the small sections outside of the Tropics. What are the obstacles to European enterprise in this tropical area have already been briefly indicated.

**Limits to European colonisation.**

Had Africa been in the same geographical position as North America, or even Australia, the problem would have been simple enough; it is to be feared it would have been solved by getting rid of the natives altogether, as has practically been done in those more temperate regions. But in Africa the conditions are different. It may be that in the far future science may discover

some means of acclimatising Europeans in tropical Africa. So far as our present knowledge goes, that is impossible. Men and even women may with due precautions live in tropical Africa for years, but sooner or later they must return to recruit their exhausted energies in their native air. In all our Central African possessions there are regions rising from 4000 to 6000 feet above the sea-level, where the scorching heat of the tropical sun is mitigated by altitude. With a height like this, and other favourable conditions on the verge of the Tropics (as in Mashonaland), even colonisation might be possible; while in the true tropical area, with civilised comforts and a sound constitution to start with, experience shows that a healthy, energetic life can be led for a lengthened period. But all evidence seems to indicate that the colonisation of Central Africa by whites is impossible; that means, of course, that if the resources of the Continent are to be developed, it must be by the help of the natives. By themselves it does not seem at all probable that the natives could ever do more than live from hand to mouth, would never do more work than absolute necessity compelled them to do. If, then, anything is to be made of Central Africa, if the most is to be made of its natural resources—mineral, vegetable, and animal—and if the capabilities of its soil are to be turned to good account, it must be done by the natives under the guidance of others who have reached a higher stage of civilisation than they have.

Can the native African be trained to work?

The subject is so important that we may be pardoned for referring to it once again in this concluding chapter. It is often said that the African native never

will work unless forced to do so. Well, there are various kinds of force; slavery is not the only form of compulsion that can be brought to bear on humanity. How far force, even of the most gentle kind, may be used for the ostensible good of a people at the stage of development of the African is too delicate a question to discuss here. The very gentle compulsion exercised by the Dutch in their East India colonies has certainly led to good results for all concerned. But in Africa we have undoubted instances of the natives being induced to undertake hard work, for wages, of their own free will. Hundreds of South African natives work at the diamond and gold mines, and serve in various capacities in the British colony of South Africa. We might adduce the hard work performed during months and years by the natives who go on exploring expeditions, for though many are volunteers, some of them at least may be forced to go against their wills. Arab domination in Africa is not in the least desirable; but undoubtedly the Arabs on the Middle Congo have greatly changed the face of the country and elevated the condition of their retainers by sheer force of example. Many Arabs have settled in the Middle and Upper Congo region; they have sown fields of rice, planted bananas and other trees, built themselves good houses, and otherwise shown their followers how to live in comfort; their followers have not been slow to imitate their masters, and several towns of comparatively good houses have grown up, and large areas been brought under cultivation. But lest it may be thought that the slave-raiding, ivory-stealing Arab is an un-

fortunate example, we may adduce a striking instance to prove that the African can be trained to hard and even skilled work. A church has quite recently been erected in the heart of what is still savage Africa; a creditable and even handsome church it is, with many graceful points of architecture—an apse, a double-towered front, a dome, and a variety of tasteful adornments; it might grace even a London suburb. It stands in the Blantyre highlands, consecrated by the name of Livingstone, near the banks of the Shiré river, to the south of Lake Nyassa. It is a region that for centuries has been devastated by slave-raiders and native wars, a region which, when Livingstone passed through it in his sad last wanderings, was in a deplorable condition. For some years, however, that region has been in the hands of Scotch missionaries and Scotch traders. Thousands of acres are under coffee plantations, and thousands more have been taken up by English planters to be brought under cultivation. The natives, who a few years ago lived in the wildest savagery, come hundreds of miles voluntarily to beg for work in these plantations. Many of them have been trained to various trades. This church then, designed by a Scotch missionary, was built entirely by the natives with free labour. He and his colleagues taught the natives to make bricks, burn lime, and hew timber. All the materials were found on the spot, except glass, internal fittings, and some portion of the roofing; and they were put together, brick upon brick, by the natives themselves, free labourers under white superintendence. Here there

is not the least suspicion of compulsion, and the result is wonderful.

We may banish the unfounded idea that the African native can never be trained to labour. If judiciously treated, there is every hope that in time that which has been accomplished in the Nyassa highlands, the South African diamond fields, and in our West Coast colonies, and by Captain Hore on Lake Tanganyika, will be accomplished elsewhere in Africa, and that the savage African will be gradually won over to civilised ways.

Slave-raiding and the Brussels Act.

There is one thing upon which all the Powers, it is hoped, are now happily agreed; and that is, that slave-raiding and slave-export must be put down. There is no doubt that the slave-trade is doomed, and that on the East Coast it will soon be as extinct as it is on the West. Internal domestic slavery is another thing; it will only vanish when the beauty of free labour comes home to the native, and when he rises a few degrees higher in the scale of civilisation than he is now. But apart from all considerations of commerce, and of turning the native to good account as a labourer, surely, on the verge of the twentieth century of the Christian era, we ought to be ashamed to have alongside of the most advanced civilisation some 120,000,000 of people, sunk in the lowest savagery. The Act passed by the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference of 1890-91, and signed by all the Powers having an interest in Africa, has for its object the suppression of slave-raiding, and the stoppage of the importation of spirituous drinks. The obligations impressed upon the Powers are very serious, and if faithfully and unitedly carried out, would

soon accomplish the object of the Act. There is a Central Commission at Zanzibar which has shown some signs of activity; but as yet it is too soon to look for results. The duty imposed on Great Britain, to take one instance, is to open up British East Africa in such a way as to render slave-raiding not only impossible but unprofitable. It remains to be seen how far England will do her duty in this respect.

Value of African commerce.

With the help of the natives, then, what could be made of Africa? At present, Africa occupies a poor place in the commerce of the world. Its total exports hardly exceed £60,000,000 sterling. India alone, covering only 1,500,000 square miles, exports to the value of £90,000,000. Of the African £60,000,000 some £40,000,000 come from the Mediterranean States and Egypt on the one side, and South Africa on the other, leaving only £20,000,000 for the whole of the centre of the Continent. Surely more could be made of it than this. Even if its oil, and its gums, and its rubber, and other natural vegetable products, were developed as they might be, they would yield far more to commerce. But at present the world is fairly well supplied with such products from other quarters. The time will come, however, as population grows—and it is increasing at an alarming rate—when the world will require additional fields for food and other supplies. Barren and dry as much of Central Africa is, there is ample space for cultivation of various kinds, and for the rearing of sheep and cattle. Grain and cotton, indigo and tea, and tobacco, coffee, and sugar, are all products adapted to various parts of Central Africa.

We can do without drawing upon Africa for these things at present, but the time will come, and soon enough, when she must become one of the feeding-grounds of the world. Moreover, with the spread of European domination, native wars must cease, and slave-trading be abolished, and so the population is bound to increase. Surely if India, on 1,500,000 square miles, can sustain 300,000,000 of people, Africa, on 11,500,000, might well be the home of three times its present population; and can we doubt that if the African were as industrious as the native Indian, his continent would bear a very different aspect from that which it does at present?

Europe's duty to the natives.

Let those European Powers then, which have thrust themselves upon the native, look upon it as both their interest and their duty to train him to habits of industry, so that his continent may be prepared in time to take its place alongside of the other continents in the general economy of the world; and in this view also let the missionaries be taught by their failures in the past, and adopt more rational and practical methods in the future. As the natives rise slowly in the scale of civilisation their wants will increase, and so they will become better and better customers to the European trader. Of course all this demands much more efficient means of communication than we have at present; but we may be sure that roads and even railways will come in good time. When we think of what has been accomplished in eight years, we need not despair; only do not let us cherish the delusion that we shall be able to remedy in a generation the neglect and abuses of thousands of

years. Without pretending to treat the African as the equal of the white man in any way, let us, for our own sakes and his, deal with him humanely; let us give him fair play; let us not sink ourselves to his level of brutality. There has been far too much blundering and plundering in the European treatment of Africa hitherto.

It seems probable, then, that the future of tropical Africa depends pretty much on our method of dealing with the natives. Some of us may think it would have been much better for them had Europe let them alone altogether. But if one adopts that position, where are we to stop? On the same principle it might have been much better had humanity never been evolved at all; or even had the earth been arrested in its development before life had begun its chequered career on its surface. Such considerations are too late. Europe has taken Africa in hand, and she cannot draw back from her task. It is not necessary, however, indeed it would only be disastrous, to attempt to force the native into the European mould. That may come in the long run; but wherever the forcing process has been tried, especially by injudicious missionaries, the product has not been lovely. By all means try to civilise and even Christianise the African, but do it with tact and knowledge of his constitution, physical and moral.

There is plenty to get out of Africa, and it will pay the European to train the native to make the best of the resources of his long-neglected continent. South Africa is all right. In Central Africa each Power has

acquired a fair share of good and bad. Even Portugal has been roused by the action of Great Britain and other Powers from her lethargy of centuries, and may even yet atone for her past delinquencies. The Germans, it is hoped, will learn in time that harsh military methods are not those best calculated to develop the resources of their territories; and, on the other hand, the Belgian officers of the Congo Free State must learn that nothing is to be gained by brutality. If the Arab cannot be induced to co-operate with the European, then he must be driven out. Nothing has been said about the ivory which is the Arab's chief object of plunder, for the simple reason that African ivory is doomed, and even now its export does not exceed £1,000,000 sterling.

**What remains to be scrambled for.**

In conclusion, let us say one word about what remains of Africa to be scrambled for. The Central Sudan, that is the region to the north, the east, and the south of Lake Chad, is one of the most interesting and commercially most valuable regions in tropical Africa. Wadai, Kanem, Darfur, Bagirmi, Bornu, Sokoto, are all Mohammedan states, with organised governments, and a fair civilisation. They are splendid countries for the European merchant, and as it is send great caravans of slaves and ivory and other goods across the Sahara, to return with commodities imported from Europe. Of these states England has her foot in Sokoto and Bornu on the one side, while Darfur may be said to be within the British sphere on the other. It is a race between England, Germany, and France to get hold of what remains—Bagirmi and Wadai

especially. Kanem may go to France; let us hope that the rest will fall to our share.

Morocco, of course, is bound in the long run to be divided up, possibly between Spain and France, though it might be well for England to secure a post opposite Gibraltar. But what about Egypt? At present it is no doubt within the British sphere. Its retention in that position is and ought to be no party question. Can we doubt that if we cleared out, some other Power would edge its way in? No doubt the time will come when all civilised nations will combine for the common good of the race, and when mere land-hunger will cease to be a moving force in international politics. But the millennium has not yet come. It is evident that some one Power in the meantime must have the lead in the world, must have the prevailing influence in the world's politics and the world's commerce, in the dealings of Europe with the lower races. Most of us will think it advisable that neither Russia nor France, nor even Germany, should have that lead, but that it is best for all concerned that England should maintain her present supreme position, should keep hold of all she has. Therefore, if it is necessary for the maintenance of our supremacy to keep Egypt, let us keep it. Do not let us be smitten with the craven fear of being great, nor try to shirk the responsibilities which arise naturally from our dominant position. We have done a good deal of knuckling down to certain other Powers in our recent dealings with Africa. Happily not much harm has come of it; but let us stop where we are.

**Egypt and British supremacy.**

England's duty.

In the building up of our world-wide empire we have no doubt done many things which we ought not to have done, and left undone many things which we ought to have done. Yet the name of our country still stands high all the world over, especially among our less advanced brothers in Africa and elsewhere, for many of those qualities which exalt a nation. In the Dark Continent then, in the new era upon which it has entered, let all who have to take any part in the great task which has been begun, and the issues of which cannot be foreseen, endeavour to "bear without abuse the grand old name of" Englishman.

# APPENDIX I.

## THE PARTITION OF AFRICA, JANUARY 1893

THE following table has been compiled by Mr. E. G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S., who kindly allows me to use it here. The population figures are necessarily in most cases only the roughest estimates :—

| | Area, Square Miles. | Population. | Inhabitants to a Square Mile. |
|---|---|---|---|
| British Africa : | | | |
| Gambia . . . . | 2,700 | 50,000 | 19 |
| Sierra Leone . . . | 15,000 | 275,000 | 18 |
| Gold Coast . . . | 46,600 | 1,905,000 | 41 |
| Lagos and Yoruba . . | 21,100 | 3,000,000 | 142 |
| Niger Territories and Oil Rivers . . . . | 269,500 | 17,500,000 | 65 |
| British Guinea . . | 354,900 | 22,730,000 | 64 |
| Cape Colony (with Pondo Land and Walvisch Bay) | 225,940 | 1,728,000 | 8 |
| Basutoland . . . | 10,300 | 219,000 | 21 |
| Natal . . . . | 20,460 | 544,000 | 22 |
| Zulu and Tonga Lands . | 9,790 | 173,000 | 18 |
| British Bechuanaland . | 71,430 | 50,000 | 0.7 |
| Bechuanaland Protectorate | 99,500 | 80,000 | 0.8 |
| Matabili, Mashona, and Nyasa Lands, etc. . . | 524,000 | 1,600,000 | 3 |
| British South Africa . | 961,420 | 4,394,000 | 4.6 |
| Zanzibar (Protectorate, with Northern Ports) . . | 1,040 | 200,000 | 192 |
| Ibea, to 6° N. latitude . | 468,000 | 6,500,000 | 14 |
| Rest to Egyptian frontier . | 745,000 | 6,000,000 | 8 |
| Northern Somali Coast . | 40,000 | 200,000 | 5 |
| Sokotra . . . . | 1,380 | 10,000 | 7 |
| British East Africa . | 1,255,420 | 12,910,000 | 10 |

| | Area, Square Miles. | Population. | Inhabitants to a Square Mile. |
|---|---|---|---|
| British Africa—*cont.*— | | | |
| Mauritius and Dependencies | 1,030 | 393,000 | 381 |
| St. Helena, Ascension, and Tristan da Cunha | 130 | 6,500 | 50 |
| Total British Africa | 2,572,900 | 40,433,500 | 16 |
| French Africa: | | | |
| Tunis | 44,800 | 1,500,000 | 33 |
| Algeria | 257,600 | 3,900,000 | 15 |
| Sahara | 1,550,000 | 1,100,000 | 0.7 |
| Senegambia (old possessions) | 15,000 | 180,000 | 12 |
| Gold and Benin Coasts | 50,000 | 600,000 | 12 |
| Sudan and Guinea (remainder) | 525,000 | 10,000,000 | 19 |
| French Congo (and Gaboon) | 320,000 | 6,000,000 | 19 |
| Tajura Bay (Obok and Sibati) | 7,700 | 70,000 | 9 |
| Madagascar and Dependencies | 228,000 | 3,520,000 | 15 |
| Comoros | 760 | 64,000 | 84 |
| Réunion | 770 | 165,000 | 214 |
| Total French Africa | 3,000,630 | 27,099,000 | 9 |
| Portuguese Africa: | | | |
| Portuguese Guinea | 11,600 | 150,000 | 13 |
| Angola | 517,200 | 3,500,000 | 7 |
| Mozambique | 310,000 | 1,500,000 | 5 |
| Madeira | 320 | 134,000 | 420 |
| Cape Verde Islands | 1,490 | 111,000 | 74 |
| St. Thomé and Principé | 460 | 21,000 | 45 |
| Total Portuguese Africa | 841,070 | 5,416,000 | 6 |
| Spanish Africa: | | | |
| Tetuan, etc. (Morocco) | 30 | 16,000 | 530 |
| Sahara (Rio de Oro, etc.) | 210,000 | 100,000 | 0.5 |
| Canaries | 2,940 | 288,000 | 98 |
| Gulf of Guinea[1] | 800 | 33,000 | 41 |
| Total Spanish Africa | 213,770 | 437,000 | 2 |
| German Africa: | | | |
| Togoland (Slave Coast) | 16,000 | 1,150,000 | 72 |
| Cameroons (Kamerun) | 130,000 | 2,600,000 | 20 |
| South-West Africa | 322,450 | 117,000 | 0.2 |
| East Africa (with Mafia) | 353,500 | 2,000,000 | 6 |
| Total German Africa | 821,950 | 5,867,000 | 7 |

[1] This includes Fernando Po, Annobom, Corisco, and Cape S. Juan.

| | Area, Square Miles. | Population. | Inhabitants to a Square Mile. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Italian Africa : | | | |
| Eritrea . . . . | 52,000 | 300,000 | 6 |
| Abyssinia . . . . | 195,000 | 4,500,000 | 23 |
| Somal, Galla, etc. . . | 355,300 | 1,500,000 | 4 |
| Total Italian Africa . | 602,000 | 6,300,000 | 10 |
| Summary : | | | |
| British Africa . . . | 2,572,900 | 40,433,500 | 16 |
| French Africa . . . | 3,000,630 | 27,099,000 | 9 |
| Portuguese Africa . . | 841,070 | 5,416,000 | 6 |
| Spanish Africa . . . | 213,770 | 437,000 | 2 |
| German Africa . . . | 821,950 | 5,867,000 | 7 |
| Italian Africa . . . | 602,000 | 6,300,000 | 10 |
| Congo State (Belgian) . | 864,000 | 15,600,000 | 18 |
| Boer Republics . . } | 168,120 | 948,000 | 6 |
| Swazi Land . . } | | | |
| Liberia . . . . | 37,000 | 1,000,000 | 27 |
| Turkish (Egypt and Tripoli) | 836,000 | 7,980,000 | 10 |
| Unappropriated . . | 1,486,710 | 23,919,500[1] | 16 |
| Lakes Chad, Victoria, Tanganyika, Nyassa, etc. . | 67,850 | ... | ... |
| Total Africa . . | 11,512,000 | 135,000,000 | 12 |

[1] Unappropriated Africa includes Morocco (219,000 square miles, 8,000,000 inhabitants), Bornu, with Kanem (80,000 square miles, 5,100,000 inhabitants), Wadai (172,000 square miles, 2,000,000 inhabitants), Bagirmi (71,000 square miles, 1,500,000 inhabitants), etc.

# APPENDIX II.

## LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT WORKS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSULTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESENT VOLUME

IT has not been considered necessary to give a list of the large number of Blue Books consulted, nor of the corresponding official publications of the other European countries concerned in the partition of Africa, as these are easily accessible to any one interested in the subject. The same remark applies to the many books of travel in Africa published during the past few years. Many periodicals and society publications of various countries have also been consulted, as well as numerous maps and atlases, ancient and modern. As far as possible, the list is arranged chronologically.


*Herodotus.* History of Herodotus by George Rawlinson, M.A., assisted by Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S. 4 vols. Fourth edition. *Maps and Illustrations.* Large 8vo. 1880.

*Movers.* Die Phöniker. 5 vols. 1841-56.

*Rawlinson, Canon.* History of Phœnicia. 1889.

*Smith, Bosworth.* Carthage and the Carthaginians. 1879.

*Church, Professor.* Carthage or the Empire of Africa. 1886.

*Müller, C.* Geographi Græci Minores. E codicibus recognovit, Prolegomenis Annotatione Indicibus instruxit. Tabulis æri incisis illustravit. 2 vols. and Atlas. 8vo. *Paris,* 1855-61.

*Müller, C.* Claudii Ptolemæi Geographia. Vol. I., Part 1. Small 4to. Paris, 1883.

*Mer, A.* Mémoire sur le Périple d'Hannon. 8vo. Paris, 1885.

*Saint-Martin, Vivien de.* Le Nŏrd de l'Afrique dans l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine. Étude Historique et Géographique. Maps. Royal 8vo. Paris, 1863.

*Heeren, A. H. L.* A Manual of Ancient History. 8vo. 1847.

—— Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians. 8vo. 1850.

*D'Avezac, M.* Description et Histoire de l'Afrique ancienne, précédée d'une Esquisse Générale de l'Afrique. Plates. 8vo. Paris, 1845.

*Ebn Haukal*, an Arabian Traveller of the Tenth Century. Oriental Geography, translated by Sir W. Ouseley. Map. 4to. 1800.

*Aboulfeda*, Géographie de. Traduite de l'Arabe, et accompagnée de Notes, et d'éclaircissements, par M. Reinaud. Maps. Vol. I. and Vol. II. Part I. 2 vols. 4to. Paris, 1848.

*Ebn-Khaldoun.* Histoire de l'Afrique sous la Dynastie des Aghlabites, et de la Sicile sous la domination Musulmane. Texte Arabe accompagné d'une traduction Française et de Notes, par A. Noel des Vergers. 8vo. Paris, 1841.

*Ibn Batuta.* Travels of [in Asia and Africa, 1324-25]. Oriental Translation Fund. 4to. 1829.

Géographie d'Édrisi. Par Amédée Jaubert. Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie. Vol. V. 4to. Paris, 1836.

*Leo Africanus, John.* (A More borne in Granada and brought up in Barbarie.) Geographical Historie of Africa; before which out of the best Ancient and Moderne Writers, is prefixed a generall description of Africa, and also a particular Treatise of all the Maine Lands and Isles undescribed by John Leo. Translated and collected by John Pory. Map. 4to. 1600.

*Estancelin, L.* Recherches sur les Voyages et Découvertes des Navigateurs Normands en Afrique, etc. 8vo. Paris, 1832.

*Lelewel, J.* Géographie du Moyen Age. 8vo. Bruxelles, 1852.

*Santos, João dos.* Ethiopia Oriental, e varia historia de covsas, notaueis do Oriente. Small folio. *Euora*, 1609.

*Santos, João dos.* Ethiopia Oriental. 12mo. [Reprint. Original Edition, 1609.] Lisbon, 1891.

*Barbosa, Duarte.* A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese. Translated from an Early Spanish Manuscript in the Barcelona Library, with Notes and a Preface, by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley. (Hakluyt Soc. Publ.; Vol. XXXV.) 8vo. 1866.

*Barros, J. de.* Da Asia de João de Barros e de Diogo de Couto Nova edição. *Plates.* 24 vols. 12mo. *Lisboa*, 1777-88.

Colleção de Monumentos ineditos para a Historia das Conquistas dos Portuguezes em Africa, Asia, e America. Ser. I., Vol. VI. Decada 13 da Historia da India, composta por Antonio Boccaro. Parts I. and II. 4to. 1876.

*Vasco da Gama*, The Three Voyages of. (Hakluyt Society Publ., Vol. XLII.) 1869.

*Alvarez, Father F.* Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia, 1520-27. (Hakluyt Society Publ., Vol. XLIV.) 1881.

*Santarem, le Vicomte de.* Recherches sur la Priorité de la Découverte des Pays situés sur la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique, au-delà du Cap Bojador, et sur les Progrès de la Science Géographique après les Navigations des Portugais au XV^e^ Siècle. 8vo. Paris, 1842.

*Cordeiro, L.* L'Hydrographie Africaine au XVI^e Siècle, d'après les premières Explorations Portugaises. 8vo. Lisbonne, 1878.

*Pigafetta, F.* A Report of the Kingdom of Congo, newly translated from the Italian. By Margarite Hutchinson. 8vo. 1881.

*Varthema, Ludovico di.* Travels in Egypt, Syria, Arabia-Deserta and Arabia-Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, 1503 to 1508. Translated from the Italian Edition of 1510, with a Preface by J. Winter Jones, and edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by G. Percy Badger. (Hakluyt Society Publ., Vol. XXXII.) Map. 8vo. 1863.

*Wauters, A. J.* L'Afrique Centrale en 1522. Le Lac Sachaf d'après Martin Hylacomilus et Gérard Mercator. 8vo. Bruxelles, 1879.

*Dapper.* Description de l'Afrique contenant les Noms, la Situation, et les Confins de toutes ses Parties, leurs Rivières, leurs Villes, et leurs Habitations, leurs Plantes et leurs Animaux; les Coûtumes, la Langue, les Richesses, la Religion et le Gouvernement de ses Peuples. *Maps and Plates.* Folio. Amsterdam, 1686.

*Beke, C. T.* Mémoire Justificatif en réhabilitation des Pères Pierre Paez et Jérome Lobo, Missionnaires en Abyssinie, en ce qui concerne leurs visites à la Source de l'Abaï (le Nil), et à la Cataracte d'Alata. Map. 8vo. Paris, 1848.

*Tellez, B.* Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia, containing the Geographical Description of all the Kingdoms and Provinces of that Empire; Travels in Arabia-Felix, and an Account of the Kingdoms of Cambate, Gingiro, Alaba, and Dancali, beyond Ethiopia in Africk, etc. etc. Maps. 4to. 1710.

*Labat, Jean-Baptiste.* Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale. 5 vols. Maps and Illustrations. 12mo. Paris, 1728.

—— Relation historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale. 5 vols. Maps and Illustrations. 12mo. Paris, 1732.

*Bosman, W.* A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea. Second Edition. 8vo. 1721.

*Snelgrove, Capt. W. M.* A New Account of some Parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade. 8vo. London, 1734.

*Smith, W.* A New Voyage to Guinea: describing the Customs, Manners, Soil, Climate, . . . and whatever else is memorable among the Inhabitants, etc. Plates. 8vo. 1745.

*Cape Coast Castle.* Letters of Advice and Instructions to the Governors, Council, etc., of Cape Coast Castle, by the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, from 21st August 1751 to 10th November 1768. MS. Folio.

—— Letters from Cape Coast Castle to the Committee of Merchants trading to Africa, from March 1767 to March 1769. MS. Folio.

*Proyart [L'Abbé].* Histoire de Loango, Kakongo, et autres Royaumes d'Afrique; redigée d'après les Mémoires des Préfets Apostoliques de la Mission françoise. Map. 12mo. Paris, 1776.

*Wadstrom, C. B.* An Essay on Colonisation, particularly applied to the Western Coast of Africa, etc. Maps and Plate. 4to. 1794.

Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements

of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa at the Close of the Eighteenth Century. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1799.

*Salt, Henry.* Voyage to Abyssinia. 1814,

*Walckenaer, C. A.* Recherches Géographiques sur l'Intérieur de l'Afrique Septentrionale. 8vo. Paris, 1821.

*Adams, Captain John.* Remarks on the Country extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo; with an Account of the European Trade with the West Coast of Africa. Maps. 8vo. 1823.

*Bowdich, T. E.* An Account of the Discoveries of the Portuguese in the Interior of Angola and Mozambique. 8vo. 1824.

*Neves, J. A. Das.* Considerações Politicas, e Commerciaes sobre os descobrimentos, e possessões dos Portuguezes na Africa, e na Asia. 12mo. Lisbon, 1830.

Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time; with Illustrations of the Geology, Mineralogy, and Zoology. By Professor Jameson, James Wilson, and Hugh Murray. Map and Plates. 16mo. Edinburgh and London, 1830.

*Douville, J. B.* Voyage au Congo et dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique Equinoxiale, 1828-30. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1832.

*Botelho, S. X.* Memoria Estatistica sobre os Dominios Portuguezes na Africa Oriental. 8vo. Lisbon, 1835.

*Russell, Bishop Michael.* History of the Present Condition of the Barbary States; comprehending a View of their Civil Institutions, Antiquities, Arts, Religion, Literature, Commerce, Agriculture, and Natural Productions. Map and Plates. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1835.

Addresses, Petitions, etc., from the Kings and Chiefs of Sudan (Africa), and the Inhabitants of Sierra Leone, to his late Majesty King William the Fourth, and his Excellency H. D. Campbell. 8vo. 1838.

*M'Queen, J.* Geographical Survey of Africa, its Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Productions, States, Population, etc.; and a Letter on the Slave Trade and the Improvement of Africa. Map. 8vo. 1840.

*M'Queen, J.* Supplement to the Geographical Survey of Africa, containing further details regarding Southern Africa. 8vo. 1840.

Facts Relative to the Suppression of the Slave Trade. [A collection of papers in 1 vol.] 8vo.

*Bandinel, J.* Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa, as connected with Europe and America. Large 8vo. 1842.

*Sutherland [Lieut.-Colonel J.]* Original Matter contained in Lieut.-Colonel Sutherland's Memoir on the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjemans of South Africa, Heads 1st and 2nd. Commentaries and Notes on the Text used in the Compilation of the Memoirs. 8vo. Cape Town, 1847.

*Africa, West.* Papers respecting the Danish Possessions on the Coast of Africa. Map. [Parly. Rep.] Folio. 1850.

*Cruickshank, B.* Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa. Vol. I. 8vo. 1853.

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